

# Historical Geography of Armenia and Neighboring Lands at Internet Archive

Prepared by Robert G. Bedrosian

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## Maps

[Maps of Asia Minor, the Caucasus, and Neighbors in Antiquity](#). This is a collection of 283 beautiful historical maps of Asia Minor (including the Armenian Highlands), the Caucasus, Iran, and neighboring lands including the Aegean Basin, the Levant, and northern Africa, from around 1500 B.C. to around 1500 A.D. Cartographers include: Samuel Butler, William Shepherd, Ramsey Muir, Heinrich Kiepert, William Ramsay, Keith Johnston, George Adam Smith, Suren T. Eremyan, Cyril Toumanoff, W. E. D. Allen and others.

[Maps of Historical Armenia and Neighboring Lands](#). This download, in 62 bookmarked pdf pages, is a collection of color and black-and-white maps in Armenian, Russian, and English, showing historical Armenia from remote antiquity through the 14th century. Most of the maps were drawn by the renowned cartographer Suren T. Eremyan. Other cartographers include E. V. Xanzadyan, M. A. Katvalyan, B. H. Harut'yunyan and Cyril Toumanoff.

Wikipedia entry: [Armenian Highlands](#).

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[A Manual of Ancient Geography](#) (London, 1881) by the great cartographer Heinrich Kiepert, G. A. Macmillan, translator. This is one of the best sources for ancient geography and history. Kiepert was a renowned cartographer as well as a fine historian. The edition is bookmarked and searchable, in 335 pdf pages. Attached to the document are a group of wonderful color maps from Kiepert's companion work *Atlas Antiquus* (Berlin, 1869; reprinted numerous times).

E. H. Bunbury's two volume *History of Ancient Geography among the Greeks and Romans* (1883), in searchable pdf format: [volume I](#); [volume II](#). This important work contains a great deal more than information on geography, and makes an invaluable accompaniment to the historical sources.

[The Archaeology and Geography of Ancient Transcaucasian Societies](#), Volume 1, *The Foundations of Research and Regional Survey in the Tsaghkahovit Plain, Armenia*, by Adam T. Smith, Ruben S. Badalyan, and Pavel Avetisyan, with contributions by Alan Greene and Leah Minc (Chicago, 2009), *Oriental Institute Publications*, volume 134, in 540 pdf pages.

[Eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus in Remote and Classical Antiquity](#), in 656 bookmarked and searchable pdf pages. This file has clickable links to resources at Internet Archive, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, The Ancient World Online (AWOL), Sacred-Texts; LacusCurtius; Livius; Attalus; Tertullian; Perseus; Wikipedia and others. The material is divided into the following categories: 1. Prehistory; 2. Hittite, Hurrian, Urartian; 3. Assyrian; 4. The Hebrew Bible, Levantine Sources; 5. Iranian; 6. Greek; 7. Latin. Attached to the document are chronological tables. Prepared by Robert Bedrosian.

[Armenia and Neighboring Lands in Classical Antiquity](#), has clickable links to articles at *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, accompanied by maps from Heinrich Kiepert's *Atlas Antiquus* (Berlin, 1869).

[Ancient Locations](#), a database of archaeological sites, and [Roundup of Resources on Ancient Geography](#), prepared by Charles Jones, at The Ancient World Online (AWOL).

[Medieval Armenian Kingdoms](#). This is a clickable index for some of Internet Archive's resources about Armenian kingdoms, principalities, and some non-traditional groups on the Armenian Highlands during the 10th-15th centuries.

[The Geography of Armenia](#), by Robert H. Hewsen. Chapter 1 from *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times* (New York, 1997), Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., volume 1, pp. 1-17, and book's bibliography, pp. 327-349, in 42 pdf pages.

[Հայաստանի բնաշխարհը Hayastani bnashxarhe](#) [*Armenia's Nature*], by Suren T. Eremyan, from [Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն Hay zhoghovrdi patmut'yun](#) [*History of the Armenian People*], volume 1 (Erevan, 1971). The natural history and environment of the Armenian Highlands, pp. 7-56, in 53 pdf pages. Topics include: geography, mountains, rivers, lakes, climate, flora, fauna, natural wealth, communication routes.

### **T'adevos Hakobyan**

[Հայաստանի պատմական աշխարհագրությունը Hayastani patmakan ashxarhagrut'yun](#) [*The Historical Geography of Armenia*], by Թադևոս Հակոբյան/T'adevos Hakobyan (Erevan, 1968), in 512 pdf pages.

[Պատմական Հայաստանի քաղաքների Patmakan Hayastani k'aghak'nere](#) [*The Cities of Historical Armenia*] (Erevan, 1987), in 277 bookmarked pdf pages, with many rare photos. This important work describes the cities of historical Armenia in central and eastern Asia Minor, in Cilicia, and Iran.

[Անի մայրաքաղաք Ani mayrak'aghak'](#) [*The Capital City Ani*], by T'. X. Hakobyan (Erevan, 1988), in 363 bookmarked pdf pages, with numerous illustrations. A thorough history of an important city in eastern Asia Minor, which was capital of the medieval Armenian kingdom of the Bagratids and later ruled by the Saljuqs/Seljuqs, the Georgian Bagratids, the Zakarids, and the Mongols.

[Աշխարհագրութիւն հին եւ նոր Հայաստանեաց Ashxarhagrut'iwn hin ew nor Hayastaneats'](#) [*Geography of Ancient and Modern Armenia*], by Manuel Kajuni (Venice, 1857), in 321 pdf pages. Textbook for Middle Schools.

[Պատկերազարդ աշխարհագրութիւն Patkerazard ashxarhagrut'iwn](#) [*Illustrated Geography*], by Hovhan Palagashean (Constantinople, 1891), in 201 pdf pages. World geography with a section on Asia Minor. Textbook for Middle Schools.

[Armenien, einst und jetzt](#), by Ferdinand Friedrich Carl Lehmann-Haupt, volumes 1 and 2 (Berlin, 1910-1931), in 569 pdf pages.

[Eranshahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xoranic'i](#), by Joseph Marquart/Markwart (Berlin, 1901). Classical Armenian text, German translation and commentary about the districts of Iran in the famous *Geography* [*Ashkharats'oyts'*], a 7th century work by the Armenian polymath Anania of Shirak (610-685). In Marquart's day this work was attributed to the historian Moses of Xoren. However, the reassigned authorship in no way compromises its information or Marquart's study. An invaluable work for Iranian, and Armenian studies, as well as for the study of Asian geography.

[Հայաստանը ըստ Աշխարհացոյց-ի](#) *Hayastane" e"st Ashxarhats'oyts'-i* [*Armenia according to the Ashxarhats'oyts'*] (փորձ VII դարի հայկական քարտեզի վերակազմության ժամանակակից քարտեզագրական հիմքի վրայ (an attempt to reconstruct a 7th century Armenian map on a modern map), by Suren T. Eremyan (Erevan, 1963), with map, in 155 pdf pages. Classical Armenian text of a 7th-century geography written by the Armenian polymath Anania of Shirak (610-685). Profound scholarly study and notes by the great cartographer and historian Eremyan. Note: the enormous map which accompanies this work has been replaced by another map, made by Eremyan twenty years later, which is more manageable. The map, which appears before p. 321 of volume 7 (1981) of *Haykakan sovetakan hanragitaran* [*Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia*] is attached to the pdf and also is available for viewing online below.

[Map: Armenia according to the \*Ashxarhats'oyts'\*](#)

[Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen](#), by Heinrich Hubschmann (Strasbourg, 1904). This is a listing and morphological analysis of Old Armenian toponyms and is invaluable for studying the historical geography and civilizations of the Armenian Highlands.

Armenian translation of the above: [Հին հայոց տեղւոյ անունները](#) *Hin hayots' teghwoy annunnere"* [[Ancient Armenian Place Names](#)] (Vienna, 1907), by Heinrich Hubschmann, translated by B. Pilezikchean. *Azgayin matenadaran* series, volume 53.

[Armenian Toponyms](#), by Nina G. Garsoian. Tables of the provinces, cities, towns, villages, mountains, plains, rivers, lakes, and seas in historical Armenian states and areas of Armenian settlement in Asia Minor including map and literary references, prepared by Nina G. Garsoian as an accompaniment (Appendix V "Toponymy", pp. 137\*-246\*) to her 1970 translation of N. Adontz's study *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* (1908). Tables provide (where available) Classical Armenian, Greek, Latin, and modern designations. Included is Garsoian's updated Bibliography (pp. 247\*-303\*) for this important work of Adontz on the lords (*naxarars*) of Ancient Armenia. Despite some omissions, these tables are an invaluable tool for the study of historical Armenia. Searchable pdf.

[Հայոց տեղանունները և դրանց թուրքական անվանափոխության մեթոդները](#) *Hayots' teghanunnere" ev drants' t'urk'akan anvanap'oxut'yan met'odnere"* [[Armenian Toponyms and the Changes of Armenian Toponyms in Turkey](#)], by J. H. Yesayan (Erevan, 2014), in 142 searchable pdf pages. An invaluable bilingual Armenian-English study of the process of replacing Armenian names with Turkish ones. The study is followed by a useful alphabetical list, showing the old names and their replacements.

See also the Wikipedia entry: [Geographical name changes in Turkey](#).

[Historico-Geographical Survey of Western Armenia](#), by Nicholas Adontz. These sections from Nicholas Adontz's celebrated work *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* (1908) treat the historical geography of parts of Western Armenia. English translation, updated notes and bibliography, and new appendices by Nina G. Garsoian (1970). Included are Chapters 2-4 (pages 25-74), their Footnotes (pages 386-399), Appendix V "Toponymy" (pages 137\*-246\*), and full Bibliography (pages 247\*-303\*). In these chapters Adontz describes: 1. The "satrapies" of Asthianene and Balabitenne, Sophene, Anzitene-Tsovk', Xarberd, Ashmushat, Anzita; 2. Armenia Interior: Xordzayn, Paghnatun, Mzur, Daranaghik', Kemah/Ekegheats', Erzincan, Derjan, Managhik, Karin, Saghagom, Aghiwn-Analibna, Tzanika; 3. Lesser Armenia/Armenia Minor: districts of Orbalisene, Aitulane, Hairetike, Orsene, Orbisene, and their chief cities.

[The Historical Geography of Asia Minor](#) (London, 1890; reprinted numerous times), by the distinguished archaeologist and New Testament scholar W. M. Ramsay (1851-1939), in 538 pdf pages.

J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie* (Paris, 1818-1819), in two volumes: [volume 1](#), in 474 pdf pages; [volume 2](#), in 536 pdf pages.

Franz Cumont, [The Frontier Provinces of the East](#), Chapter 15 from *Cambridge Ancient History [The Imperial Peace, A. D. 70-192]*, volume 11 (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 606-648 and chapter bibliography, in 55 searchable pdf pages. Topics include: 1. Cappadocia, Lesser Armenia, Commagene; 2. Syria, Arabia, and the Empire; 3. Industry and Trade; 4. Syrian Culture.

V. Chapot, [La frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe](#) (Paris, 1907). A detailed study of the historical geography and ethnography of western historical Armenia from Roman times through the 7th century A.D.

Armenian translation of the above: [Եփրատի սահմանագլուխը Պոմպեոսի ժամանակէն մինչեւ Արաբացոց աշխարհակալութիւնը Ep'rati sahmanagluxe" Pombe'osi zhamanake'n minch'ew Arabats'wots' ashxarhakalut'iwne"](#) [*The Euphratean Frontier from the Time of Pompey until the Arab Conquest*], by V. Chapot, translated by Y. Tashean (Vienna, 1960), in 802 pdf pages. *Azgayin matenadaran* series, volume 189.

Karl Güterbock, [Römisch-Armenien und die Römischen Satrapieen](#) im vierten bis sechsten Jahrhundert (Königsberg, 1900).

Armenian translation of the above, Karl Güterbock's [Հռովմէական հայաստան եւ հռովմէական սատրապութիւնները դ-գ դարերուն Hr'ovme'akan hayastan ew hr'ovme'akan satraput'iwnnere" d-z darerun](#) [*Byzantine Armenia and the Byzantine Satrapies in the 4th-6th centuries*] (Vienna, 1914). *Azgayin matenadaran* series, volume 74.

W. Tomaschek, [Sasun und das Quellengebiet des Tigris](#) (Wien, 1896), in 47 pdf pages.

Armenian translation of the above, W. Tomaschek's [Սասուն եւ Տիգրիսի աղբերաց սահմանները Sasun ew Tigrisi aghberats' sahmannere"](#) [*Sasun and the Sources of the Tigris*] (Vienna, 1896). *Azgayin matenadaran* series, volume 21.

Ernst Honigmann, [Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches: von 363 bis 1071 nach griechischen, arabischen, syrischen und armenischen Quellen](#), by Ernst Honigmann (Bruxelles, 1935), in 277 searchable and bookmarked pdf pages, Volume 3 in Alexander A. Vasiliev's series *Byzance et les Arabes*. This remarkable work, based on Greek, Arabic, Syriac, and Armenian sources, thoroughly describes what is known about the eastern border between Rome/Byzantium and Persia/Iran, and the border between Byzantium and the Arabs, during the fourth through eleventh centuries.

Maximillian Streck, [Armenien, Kurdistan und Westpersien, nach den babylonisch-assyrischen keilinschriften](#) (Munich, 1898).

Armenian translation of the above, Maximillian Streck's [Հայաստան քրդաստան եւ արեւմտեան պարսկաստան բաբելական-ասորեստանեայ սեպհագրերու համեմատն Hayastan k'rdastan ew arewmtean parskastan babelakan-asorestaneay sephagreru hamematn](#) [*Armenia, Kurdistan, and Western Persia according to Babylonian-Assyrian Inscriptions*] (Vienna, 1904). *Azgayin matenadaran* series, volume 50.

Ghukas Inchichean's

*Հնախոսութիւն աշխարհագրական Հայաստանեայց աշխարհի Hnaxosut'iwn ashxarhagrakan Hayastaneayts' ashxarhi* [*Antiquities of Armenian Geography*] (Venice, 1835):

[vol. 1](#);  
[vol. 2](#);  
[vol. 3](#).

[Ստորագրութիւն հին Հայաստանեայց Storagrut'iwn hin Hayastaneayts' \[Description of Ancient Armenia\]](#) (Venice, 1822).

Nerses Sargisean's [Տեղագրութիւնք ի Փոքր եւ Մեծ Հայս Teghagrut'iwnk' i P'ok'r ew Mets Hays \[Itineraries in Greater and Lesser Armenia\]](#) (Venice, 1864).

Jacobus Dashian/Yakovbos Tashean's [Հին Հայաստանի արեւմտեան սահմանը Փոքր-Հայք եւ Կողոփենէ \(Սեբաստիա\) Hin Hayastani arewmtean sahmane' P'ok'r-Hayk' ew Koghoph'ene' \(Sebastia\) \[Ancient Armenia's Western Border: Armenia Minor and Colophene \(Sebastia\)\]](#) (Vienna, 1948). This important work by the great Tashean was written in 1910 and published posthumously. Contents: Armenian traditions about the western border; the Armenian element to the west of the Euphrates, Armenia Minor; a new conception of Armenia Minor; proto-Armenia according to latest research; Cappadocia from the ethnographic standpoint; a look at the history of Armenia, 800 B.C. through 1400 A.D. *Azgayin matenadaran* series, volume 156, in 506 pdf pages.

[Arminiya](#), entry from *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leiden, 1986, repr.) volume 1, pp. 634-650, in 20 pdf pages with a map. Authors include M. Canard, Cl. Cahen, and J. Deny.

[The Historical Geography of the Paulician and T'ondrakian Heresies](#), by George Huxley, from *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, CA, 1983), T. Samuelian and M. Stone, editors, pp. 81-95, in 15 pdf pages.

[Fragments de géographes et d'historiens Arabes et Persans inédit, relatifs aux anciens peuples du Caucase et de la Russie méridionale](#). This study by the noted philologist Charles-Francois Defremery (1822-1888) was serialized in *Journal Asiatique*, 4th series (Paris, 1849-1851), in volumes 13, 14, 16, and 17. It includes French translations of Arabic and Persian historical works and geographies describing the peoples, tribes, and states of the Caucasus and south Russia. Contents include extracts from: Abu al-Bekri on the Pechenegs, Khazars, Borthas, Bulgars of the Volga and the Danube; from Ibn al-Athir and Ibn Khaldun describing conflicts involving the Armenians, Georgians, and other peoples of the Caucasus during the Turco-Mongol invasions of the Saljuqs, Khwarazmians, Mongols, Qipchaqs and others (11-13th centuries); extracts from the travels of Ibn Battuta; from Khondemir and Mirkhond about the Qipchaqs and Shirvanshahs. Download is 270 pdf pages and includes invaluable scholarly notes by this careful historian.

## **Levon (Ghewond) Alishan**

[Հայաստան յառաջ քան գլինելն Հայաստան Hayastan yar'aj k'an zlineIn Hayastan \[Armenia before Becoming Armenia\]](#) (Venice, 1904), in 291 pdf pages. Alishan's remarkable ideas about the prehistory of the Armenian Highlands, mostly based on the Old Testament and Armenian legends.

[Հայապատում Hayapatum \[Armeniaca\] vol. 1](#) (Venice, 1901), in 985 pdf pages; [vols. 2-3](#) (Venice, 1901), in 1042 pdf pages.

[Տեղագիր հայոց մեծաց Teghagir hayots' metsats' \[Topography of Greater Armenia\]](#) (Venice, 1855), in 121 pdf pages.

[Շիրակ, Տեղագրութիւն պատկերացոյց Shirak, Teghagrut'iwn patkerats'oyts' \[Illustrated Topographical Study of Shirak\]](#) (Venice, 1881), in 217 pdf pages.

[Սիսական, Տեղագրութիւն Սիւնեաց աշխարհի Sisakan, Teghagrut'iwn Siwneats' ashxarhi \[Sisakan, Topography of the Land of Siwnik'\]](#) (Venice, 1893), in 642 pdf pages. Alishan's thorough study of the twelve districts of Siwink' in eastern historical Armenia. It includes topography, geography, natural resources, flora, fauna, history, current conditions, customs, folklore, and much more. Lavishly illustrated with drawings, and numerous photographs unavailable elsewhere.



[Սիսուան: համագրութիւն Հայկական Կիլիկիոյ եւ Լեւոն Մեծագործ Sisuan: hamagrut'iwn Haykakan Kilikioy ew Lewon Metsagorts \[Sisuan: a Study of Armenian Cilicia and Levon the Magnificent\]](#) (Venice, 1885), in 674 pdf pages. Historico-philological study of Cilicia including natural resources, folklore, flora and fauna.

[Sissouan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie](#) (Venice, 1888), in 428 pdf pages.

[Հուշիկը հայրենեաց հայոց Hushikk' hayreneats' hayots' \[Memories of the Armenian Homeland\]](#) by Levon (Ghewond) Alishan. Download includes both volumes of this two-volume work (Venice, 1869-1870, in 1176 bookmarked pdf pages.

[Description géographique de la Géorgie, par le Tsarévitch Wakhoucht](#) (St. Petersburg, 1842), in 606 pdf pages. Georgian text and French translation by Brosset.

## **Ervand Lalayan**

[Գանձակ Gandzak](#). This is a study of the district of Gandzak (Kirovabad/modern Ganja), an area which frequently passed back and forth among Armenian, Aghuan, and Iranian states in the pre-Turkic period. The bulk of the study concentrates on the 19th-20th centuries when Armenians were still an important part of the population. The author, the renowned ethnographer/folklorist Ervand Lalayan (1864-1931), founded the Armenian Ethnographic Society (1901) as well as the scholarly journal *Azgagrakan Hande's [Ethnographic Review]* (1895-1916). Topics include: 1. Historical Survey (large section on the Armenian Melik families); 2. Topography: noteworthy Armenian villages, monasteries, fortresses, German settlements, Russian Molakan settlements, Turkish villages (descriptions include population statistics); 3. Ethnography: dwellings of Armenians; clothing and ornaments; family system and customs; beliefs. This download includes both volume 1 (Tiflis, 1900) and volume 2 (Tiflis, 1901), in 324 pdf pages. Some photographs by Lalayan.

[Զավախք Javaxk'](#), extracted from the journal *Azgagrakan Hande's [Ethnographic Review]* volume 1 (Shushi, 1895), pp. 138-409). Topics include: 1. Historical Survey; 2. Topography; 3. Antiquities; 4. Residents; 5. Statistical information; 6. Economic Situation; 7. Popular enlightenment; 8. Dwellings of Armenian peasants; 9. Clothing and ornaments; 10. Family system and customs; 11. Beliefs. 272 pdf pages. Some photographs by Lalayan.

[Վարանդա Varanda](#). Ervand Lalayan's historico-ethnographic study of Varanda in Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabagh) from *Azgagrakan Hande's*, II (1897), pp. 4-244, and III (1898) pp. 338-349, in 262 indexed pdf pages. Varanda is the old name of a district, now part of Martuni, which includes the church of Amaras. At the time Lalayan visited, Varanda was part of Shushi, and so his invaluable information also describes neighboring areas. Lalayan's colleagues L. Atabekean, L. Ter-Ghazarean, and Y. Yovhannisean authored parts of the study.

[Զանգեզուր Zangezur](#) (Tiflis, 1899), in 133 pdf pages. Topics include: 1. Historical Survey; 2. Historical traditions; 3. Topography; 4. Residents; 5. Dwellings; 6. Clothing and ornaments; 7. Family system and customs; 8. Important feasts; 9. Popular songs.

[Բորչալուի գավառ Borch'alui gawar' \[The District of Borch'alu\]](#), in 514 indexed pdf pages. Extracted from *Azgagrakan Hande's*, VII-VIII (1901), pp. 271-436; IX (1902), pp. 197-262; X (1903), pp. 113-268; and XI (1904), pp. 33-128. Topics include: topography, flora, fauna, historical review (including information on the Kiwrikan kingdom, and the clan of the *spasalars*, the Zakarean/Mxargrdzeli clan), Armenian and non-Armenian villages, Armenian and Georgian monasteries, dwellings, clothing and ornaments, marriage and engagement customs, birth, baptism, family life, patriarchal clans, health, foods, beverages, folk medicine, death, burial, beliefs, worship of stones, water, fire, trees, and animals, oral literature, folk songs, riddles, proverbs and sayings, oaths, blessings, and curses. Some photographs by Lalayan.

[Նախիջևան Naxijevan](#), extracted from *Azgagrakan Hande's*, XI (1904), pp. 240-336; XII (1904), pp. 109-174; XIII (1906), pp. 199-226; and XV (1907), pp. 133-163, in 243 indexed pdf pages. Descriptions of the district's physical features, history, ethnography, family and cultural institutions, population statistics, festivals, and customs concerning birth, marriage, death and burial. Some photographs by Lalayan.

[Վասպուրական Vaspurakan](#). Ervand Lalayan's studies of Vaspurakan, emphasizing folklore, extracted from *Azgagrakan Hande's*, XX (1910), pp. 116-196; XXV (1913), pp. 21-60; and XXVI (1916), pp. 195-210, in 139 indexed pdf pages. Descriptions of dwellings, clothing, ornaments, marriage and engagement customs, worship of mountains, stones, water, plants, animals, fire, the sun, the threshold, ancestors, spirits, and saints. Some photographs by Lalayan.

[Մուշ-Տառօն Ազգագրութիւն Mush-Taro'n. Azgagrut'iwn \[Mush-Taron. Ethnography\]](#), in 47 pdf pages, from *Azgagrakan Hande's [Ethnographic Review]* XXVI (1916), pp. 148-194. Some photographs by Lalayan.

[Étude sur la topographie et l'iconographie historique de la ville de Van](#), by Paolo Cuneo, from *Armenian Studies in Memoriam Haig Berberian* (Lisbon, 1986), Dickran Kouymjian, editor, pp. 125-184, in 61 pdf pages, with numerous drawings and photographs.

[Արցախ Artsakh](#), by Makar Barxutareants' (Baku, 1895), in 773 pdf pages. An ethnographic and historico-geographical study of Artsakh (Nagorno Karabagh). Descriptions of physical features, natural resources, flora and fauna, villages, churches, monasteries, social institutions, and cultural life.

[The Kingdom of Arc'ax](#), by Robert H. Hewsen, from *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, CA, 1983), T. Samuelian and M. Stone, editors, pp. 42-68, in 27 pdf pages, including seven maps.

[Մի քանի օր Արցախիում եւ Սիւնիքում Mi k'ani o'r Arts'akhum ew Siwnik'um \[A Few Days in Artsakh and Siwnik\]](#), by Lewon Sargsean (Tiflis, 1905), in 93 pdf pages. A tourist's memoir.

[Հնութիւնք հայրենեացի գաւառին Երնջակու Hnut'iwnk' hayreneats' i gawar'in Ernjaku \[Armenian Antiquities in the District of Ernjak\]](#) by Aristakes Sedrakean (Vagharshapat, 1872), in 201 pdf pages.

[Ատրպատական Atrpatakan](#), by E. Frangean/Frangian (Tiflis, 1905), in 321 pdf pages. An Armenian-language illustrated album showing aspects of the Armenian community of Atrpatakan (both the modern Republic of Azerbaijan, and the Iranian district of Azerbaijan) before the modern period: its history, demography (including population statistics), towns, monasteries and churches, industries, cultural and intellectual life.

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## Arshag Alboyadjian

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*Պատմութիւն Հայ Կեսարիոյ Patmut'iwn Hay Kesarioy* [*History of Armenian Caesarea*], by Arshag Alboyadjian/Alboyajian/Arshak Alpoyachean (Cairo, 1937), in two volumes:

[volume 1](#), in 684 pdf pages;

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[Պատմութիւն Եւդոկիոյ Հայոց Patmut'iwn Ewdokioy Hayots'](#) [[History of the Armenians of Eudokia/Tokat](#)] (Cairo, 1952), in 945 pdf pages. A Wikipedia entry ([Tokat](#)) describes the city's past and present.

*Պատմութիւն Մալաթիոյ Հայոց Patmut'iwn Malat'ioy Hayots' History of the Armenians of Malatya* (Beirut, 1961). A thorough topographical, historical, and ethnographic survey of an important cradle of Armenian civilization in Asia Minor. A Wikipedia entry ([Malatya](#)) describes the city's history. The large scan has been split into four parts for manageability:

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[Ծովք-Տլուք եւ Հռոմ-կլայ](#) [Tsovk'-Tluk' ew Hr'om-klay](#), by Babgen Kiwleserean (Vienna, 1904), in 161 pdf pages. This is a historico-geographical study of the area from Edessa (Urha/Urfa) west and southwest to the Mediterranean, including the old Armenian districts of Tsovk'-Tluk' and Cilician Hromkla. *Azgayin matenadaran* series, volume 45.

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Wikipedia entries: [Armenian Diaspora by Country](#).

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Articles on [Geography](#), from Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես *Patma-banasirakan handes [Historico-Philological Journal]*, multiple authors, topics, and periods.

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Additional information is available on other pages of this site:

Considerable attention is devoted to the Armenian Highlands in the geographical writings of scholars such as [Ellsworth Huntington](#) and [Ellen Churchill Semple](#).

Studies of monasteries (on the Armenian Church Resources page) usually devote some space to the historical geography of the sites: [Armenian Monasteries](#).

[Travellers' Accounts: Journeys to the Armenian Highlands and Neighboring Lands \(17th through early 20th centuries\)](#).

[Armenian Genocide Resources](#), includes maps of Armenian communities in Asia Minor before and after 1915-1923, and proposed partitions of Turkey.

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[Other Armenian Resource Guides at Internet Archive](#).

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stones prove its antiquity. Arcos declared for 'Abd al-Rahmān I when the latter undertook his campaign against Yūsuf al-Fihri; it was subsequently sacked by Shakyā b. 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Miknāsī, leader of the most important and most dangerous Berber revolt against the first Umayyad *amir*. During the Arab-muwallad conflict at the end of the 3rd/9th century in the region of Seville, the rebel *castillos* of Arcos, Jerez and Medina Sidonia were assaulted by the troops of the *amir* 'Abd Allāh. Yūsuf b. Tāshufin stopped at Arcos on his way to Zallāka. The Almohad caliph Ya'qūb al-Manšūr, in his campaign of 586/1190 against Portugal, concentrated his troops at Arcos de la Frontera; from there he dispatched his cousin al-Sayyid Ya'qūb b. Abī Ḥafṣ against Silves, while he himself proceeded to lay siege to Torres Novas and Tomar. Ferdinand III took possession of Arcos in 648/1250, after having captured Granada; its Muslim inhabitants rose in revolt in 659/1261, and it was reduced to submission by Alfonso the Learned in 662/1264. In 739/1339, when the Marīnid *amir* Abu 'l-Ḥasan undertook his Andalusian campaign, which resulted in his defeat at the battle of the Salado or Tarifa, the Andalusian Councils routed the troops of prince Abū Mālik a short distance from Arcos, and put him to death on the banks of the Barbate, which marked the frontier between the two countries. Up to 856/1452, the Moors of Granada encroached on the territory of Arcos, which for two centuries was a frontier town, kept constantly on a war footing and thus deserving its name of Arcos de la Frontera.

*Bibliography*: Idrīsī, Arabic text 174, trans. 208; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique*, Arabic text 14, trans. 20; *Dic. geog. de España*, 1957, ii, 697; A. Huici, *Las Grandes batallas de la Reconquista*, 336. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

ARMAN [see ARMĪNIYA].

ARMĪNIYA, Armenia, a country of Hither Asia.

## I. Geographical Outline.

Armenia is the central and most elevated part of Hither Asia. Encompassed between two mountain chains, the Pontic chain to the north and the chain of the Taurus to the south, it lies between Asia Minor to the west of the Euphrates, Ādharbāyḍjān and the region south-west of the Caspian (on a level with the confluence of the Kurr [Kura] and the Araxes) to the east, the Pontic regions to the north-west, the Caucasus (from which the line of the Rion and the Kurr separates it) to the north, and the plain of Mesopotamia to the south (area of the Upper Tigris). To the south of Lake Van, Gordjaik (the ancient Gordyene, now Bohtan) and the land of the Hakkari Kurds (the region of Džulamerk and Amadiye) form geographically a part of Armenia, although they have not always been subject to the Armenians. Armenia thus embraces almost the whole of the territory extending between long. 37° and 49° East and lat. 37.5° and 41.5° North. Its area can be estimated at about 300,000 sq. kms.

The geological framework of the land consists of mountains having an archaean core and covered with sedimentary strata and tertiary deposits, but vast volcanic masses and lava flows of more recent date have modified its structure. High plains extend between the mountain ranges and vary in altitude from 800 to 2 000 metres (Erzerūm: 1,880 m.; Kars: 1,800 m.; Mūsh on the Murād Šū: 1,400 m.; Erzindjān: 1,300 m.; Erivān: 890 m.). The eruptions have produced a whole series of volcanic cones which are among the highest peaks in the land: Ararat (5,205 m.) to the south of the Araxes; the Sīpān

dāgh (4,176 m.), already known to al-Balādhurī (ed. De Goeje, 198. Cf. *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 67, 162; Le Strange, 183); the Bingöl dāgh (3,680 m.) to the south of Erzerūm; the Khoridāgh (3,550 m.), the Ala-dāgh (3,520 m.), and the Alaghöz (4,180 m.) which forms to the north an almost completely isolated massif.

Armenia is the cradle of great rivers: the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes and the Kurr (Kura). The Euphrates is formed through the confluence of two branches, the northern branch or Kara Šū (Ar. Furāt) and the southern branch or Murād Šū (Ar. Arsanas) which come from the Armenian plateau; the Tigris is born in the border range of the South called the Armenian Taurus. While the system of the Tigris and the Euphrates irrigates the lands inclined towards the Persian Gulf, the Araxes (Ar. al-Rass, [q.v.]) which comes from the Bingöl dāgh, waters the lands turned towards the Caspian Sea and, before flowing into it, joins the Kurr which, with its parallel prolongation, the river Rion, a tributary of the Black Sea, separates the Caucasus sharply from Armenia. The Euphrates and the Araxes cut deeply into the Armenian plateau and these breaches facilitate the drainage of water with the result that Armenia has but a small number of lakes, Lake Van (1,590 m.) called in Arabic the lake of Khilāt and Ardīsh [q.v.] and the Gök Çay [q.v.] or Sevanga (2,000 m.) mentioned already in 1340 by al-Mustawfi, and several smaller lakes.

The orographical and hydrographical systems of Armenia are such that the land is divided into a number of basins separated the one from the other by high mountains, a fact that helps to bring about the feudal disunion in which the Armenians have always lived.

The climate of Armenia is very severe. The winter lasts regularly for eight months on the plateau, the short and very hot summer rarely exceeds two months; it is very dry and crops have need of artificial irrigation. The region of the plains along the Araxes enjoys, however, a more favourable climate. The snow-line in the mountains of the South lies at 3,300 m., but rises to 4,000 m. in eastern Armenia.

## II. History.

### 1. — Armenia before Islam.

Armenia is thought to have been inhabited towards the 17th century B.C. by an Asiatic people, the Hurrites, who were neither of Semitic nor of Indo-European origin; this people was organised in the first half of the second millennium by a conquering Indo-European aristocracy and later became subject to the Hittite empire and thereafter to the Assyrians. In the 9th century B.C. a people closely related to the Hurrites, the Urartians, also called Khaldi, established there the powerful kingdom of Urartu (the biblical Ararat), of which Lake Van formed the centre. This kingdom, which had to fight against the Assyrians, attained its apogee in the 8th century, but was destroyed towards the middle of the 7th century by the Cimmerian and Scythian wave that flowed over Hither Asia. During and after these changes an Indo-European people of the Thracio-Phrygian family, a branch, probably, of the Phrygians whose state had just been destroyed by the Cimmerians, came from the West and conquered Urartu. These new inhabitants were called Armenians by the Achaemenid Persians (Greek: Ἀρμένιοι), a name of



which the meaning and origin are still unexplained, and the region became known in the course of time as Armenia. The Armenians, however, call themselves Haik (from the name of the hero who led the Armenian people to the conquest) and refer to their land as Hayastan.

The Armenians, save in the time of Tigranes II (Tigranes the Great), have never played a dominant rôle in Hither Asia. The reasons for this were, to a large degree, the feudal régime favoured by the geographical nature of the country and itself a source of internal dissensions, and also the proximity of powerful empires. From the time of their settlement in Armenia the Armenians were vassals of the Medes and then of the Achaemenid Persians who placed the land under the control of satraps. These latter, taking advantage of the troubles caused by the death of Alexander the Great, became veritable kings who afterwards recognised the suzerainty of the Seleucids. When Antiochus III was defeated by the Romans at Magnesia (189 B.C.), the two "strategi" who governed Armenia made themselves independent, took the title of king and formed two kingdoms, the one, Artaxias, in Great Armenia or Armenia proper and the other, Zariadris, in Little Armenia (Sophene-Arzanene). Great Armenia fell afterwards under the suzerainty of the Arsacids. In the first century B.C. a descendant of Artaxias, Tigranes the Great, threw off the Parthian yoke, dethroned the king of Sophene and united all Armenia under his sceptre; having achieved Armenian unity, he established at the expense of the Parthians and the Seleucids a vast Armenian empire and played an important political rôle. After him, however, Armenia was reduced more and more to the rôle of a buffer state between the two empires, the Arsacid Parthian and the Roman, each of which desired to impose a king of its choice, internal troubles furnishing a perpetual pretext for intervention and encroachments. In general, from the year 11 A.D. down to the fall of the Arsacids in 224, it was, for the greater part of the time, cadets of the Arsacid family who ruled in Armenia, now supporting their relatives in their wars against Rome, and now accepting the Roman protectorate. When the Arsacid Parthians were replaced by the Sāsānids, Armenia, continuing under the rule of Arsacid kings and embracing Christianity at the close of the 3rd century, became once more a new apple of discord between the two empires which in the end reached an agreement to share the weak vassal state. By a partition which took place about 390 Persia received the eastern portion, four-fifths of Armenia, over which Khosraw III reigned with Dwin (Ar. Dabīl) as capital, while Rome kept the western part where Arshak III ruled at Erzindjān. After the death of Arshak the Romans (Byzantines) entrusted to a count (*comes*) the administration of the land. The Persian part of the country or Persarmenia retained its national princes until 428-9 and was thereafter administered by a Persian *marzbān* residing at Dwin. According to the Armenian historian Sebeos, the most important native source for the period extending from the 5th to the middle of the 7th century, the Persian domination never succeeded in implanting itself solidly in Armenia, all the more since the Sāsānids persecuted Armenian Christianity. The Armenian lords (the *nakhharar*) availed themselves of every opportunity to shake off the detested yoke of the fire-worshippers and in their quarrels with the Persian *marzbāns* invoked frequently the aid of their co-religionists in Byzantine Armenia, a proce-

dure that led to frontier skirmishes and at times to real battles. A wide breach in the community of interests between Armenia and Byzantium was made, however, in 451 by the Council of Chalcedon, the decisions of which were condemned by the Armenians at the Council of Dwin in 506. This schism, which was definitive despite the efforts of the Greeks to restore union, facilitated political relations between the Armenians of Persarmenia and the court of Ctesiphon, now become more tolerant towards Christianity.

Under the emperor Maurice (582-602) the Byzantines, profiting by the troubles of the Persian empire, reconquered a part of Persarmenia. Armenia now enjoyed a period of peace, but Khosraw II Parwiz (590-628) resumed in 604 against the Byzantines a war which was to last until 629 and was marked by the celebrated campaigns of Heraclius (610-41) in Atropatene.

Throughout the Sāsānid period the intervention of the two great powers, the internal discords between the great families which vied with each other for pre-eminence and the incursions of the Khazars on the north-eastern frontier maintained a complete anarchy in the land. Armenia, ravaged and torn, found itself at the moment of the Muslim invasion in a state of weakness that did not allow it to oppose a strong resistance to the Arab assault. Favoured by this anarchy, there now developed in the region of Lake Van the power of the Rshuni family which had for its base the island of Aghtamar in Lake Van and whose chief Theodore played a great rôle at the time of the Arab invasions.

## 2. — Armenia under Arab domination.

The history of the conquest of Armenia by the Arabs still presents in its details many uncertainties and obscurities, for the information found in the Arab, Armenian, and Greek sources is often contradictory. The Armenian account by Bishop Sebeos, who speaks to us as an eye-witness of these memorable events, is by far the most important source for this period; to this account there must be added, as a valuable complement, the work of the priest Leontius which constitutes indeed for the years 662-770 the only notable testimony. Among the Arab authors the first place belongs to al-Balādhuri who made use to a unique degree of accounts drawn from the inhabitants of Armenia.

After the conquest of Syria and the defeat of Persia by the Arabs, the latter began to make repeated irruptions into Armenia and to contend with the Byzantines for possession of the land. 'Iyād b. Ghānim, the conqueror of Mesopotamia, undertook between the close of the year 19 and the beginning of the year 20/639-40 a first campaign in south-western Armenia, where he penetrated as far as Bitlis. Al-Balādhuri (176), al-Ṭabarī (i, 2506) and Yāqūt (i, 206) agree on the date of this campaign, but differ in regard to its details. A second Arab attack took place, according to the accounts of al-Ṭabarī (i, 2666) and Ibn al-Athīr (iii, 20-1), in the year 21/642. In four corps, two of which were under the command of Ḥabīb b. Maslama and of Salmān b. Rabi'a, the Muslims advanced into the frontier regions of north-eastern Armenia, but, driven back on all sides, soon had to retire from the land. Nor did the brief razzia carried out in the year 24/645 by Salmān b. Rabi'a from Ādharbāyḍjān into the Armenian border territory have any more enduring effect: see, on this raid, al-Ya'qūbī, 180; al-Balādhuri, 198; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2806.

According to the evidence of the Arab historians and geographers (see especially al-Ya'qūbī, 194; al-Balādhurī, 197-8; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2674-5, 2806-7; Ibn al-Aṭṭār, iii, 65-6), the greatest invasion of Armenia, the one which for the first time reduced the country to effective Arab control, occurred during the caliphate of 'Uṡmān towards the end of 24/645-6. Mu'āwiya, the governor of Syria, charged the same general Ḥabīb b. Maslama, who had already distinguished himself in the battles of Syria and Mesopotamia, with the conquest of Armenia. The general marched first against Theodosiopolis (Armen. Karin, Ar. Kālīkalā, now Erzerūm), the capital of Byzantine Armenia and took the town after a short siege. He inflicted a heavy defeat on a great Byzantine army which, reinforced by Khazar and Alan auxiliary troops, had moved forward to stop him on the Euphrates. He turned next towards the south-east in the direction of Lake Van and received the submission of the local princes of Akhlāt [q.v.] and Moks. Ardīsh on the north-eastern shore of Lake Van also yielded to the Arab troops. Ḥabīb then marched to besiege Dwin, the centre of Persarmenia, which likewise capitulated after a few days. He concluded a treaty of peace and guarantee with the town of Tiflis in return for the recognition of Arab suzerainty and the payment of a capitulation tax (*dīziya*). At the same time, Salmān b. Rabī'a with his army of 'Irāqī troops, subjugated Arrān (Albania) and conquered its capital Bardha'a.

The Armenian tradition differs from the Arab tradition in the matter of dates as well as in various details. On one point alone, the direction given to the great Arab invasion, is there complete agreement in Sebeos and al-Balādhurī, as a comparison of the routes indicated in each of these authors reveals.

According to the Armenian historians, an army entered Armenia in 642, penetrated to the region of Airarat, conquered the capital Dwin and then left the country by the same route, carrying off 35,000 prisoners. In the next year the Muslims made, from Ādharbāyḍjān, a new irruption into Armenia. They ravaged the region of Airarat and penetrated even into Georgia; a sharp defeat which the prince Theodoros Ršhtuni inflicted on them compelled them, however, to retreat. Soon after this event the emperor recognised Theodoros as commander of the Armenian troops. Armenia, spared the Arab incursions for a number of years, then recognised anew the suzerainty of Byzantium. When the truce of three years concluded between the Arabs and Constans II, the successor of Heraclius, who had died in 641, came to an end in 653, a resumption of hostilities had to be expected in Armenia. In order to prevent a threatening invasion by the Arabs, Theodoros surrendered the land voluntarily to them and concluded with Mu'āwiya a treaty very favourable to the Armenians and which imposed on them only the recognition of Muslim suzerainty. In the same year, however, the emperor, with an army 100,000 strong, appeared in Armenia, where most of the local princes ranged themselves on his side. He brought all Armenia and Georgia once more under his authority without much trouble. Yet scarcely had Constans II left the country (654), having wintered at Dwin, than an Arab army entered the land in its turn and took possession of the districts on the northern shore of Lake Van. With the aid of these Arab forces Theodoros drove the Greeks from the country once more and was thereafter recognised by Mu'āwiya as prince of Armenia, Georgia and Albania. The attempts of the Greeks, with an army under the

orders of Maurianos, to reconquer the lost provinces failed completely. In 655 the Arabs extended their domination over the whole of Armenia and the Greco-Armenian capital Karin (Kālīkalā) had also to open its gates to them. Two years later the Muslims saw themselves constrained, however, to renounce for the time being a possession that was ill assured. When, in the year 36/657, the first civil war between Mu'āwiya and 'Alī broke out, the former had need of his army of occupation established in Armenia and the country, empty of troops, fell back immediately under its old master, Byzantium.

It transpires from the account of Sebeos that all these events, merged by the Arab sources in the great campaign of Ḥabīb in 24-25/644-646, occurred only after the end of the three year truce; it is on this date, too, that the information in the *Chronography* of Theophanes is based. There is, in the Arab historians, no mention at all of the fact that Armenia, after the first Arab invasion which occurred in the reign of 'Umar, had been subjected anew to Byzantine domination, nor of the events which unfolded themselves in the land during the period before the accession of Mu'āwiya. That Theodoros Ršhtuni submitted voluntarily to Mu'āwiya, a fact attested not only by Sebeos, but also by Theophanes, would be incomprehensible, if, ever since the first invasion of the Arabs, the country had been subjected to their full authority. According to Ghazarian, who, in the *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.* (ii, 173-4), has made a close analysis of the divergences between the Arab and the Armenian sources, the contemporary account of Sebeos deserves more trust than the tradition of the Arabs; it is on Ghazarian that Müller relies (*Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 259-61); a different opinion is that of Thopdschian (*Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 70-1), according to whom there can be established in the Armenian and Arab historians a concordance of dates and facts relative to the first great Arab invasion. In the view of J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, 90, 371, there were six Arab invasions between 640 and 651. H. Manadean, *Brèves Études*, Erivan 1932 (trans. by H. Berberian in *Byzantion*, xviii, 1946-8) has submitted the traditional data to a close criticism and has arrived at the conclusion that until 650 there were only three Arab invasions: (i) in 640, a first invasion through the Taron region and the capture of Dwin on 6 October 640; (ii) in 642-3, a second invasion by way of Ādharbāyḍjān into Persarmenia; (iii) in 650, a third invasion carried out from Ādharbāyḍjān and marked by the taking of Artsap<sup>c</sup> in the Kogovit district to the north-east of Lake Van on 8 August 650.

The Arabs, who had carried off Theodoros Ršhtuni in 655 to Damascus, where he died in 656, had set in his place at the head of Armenia Hamazasp Mamikonian, a member of a rival family, the fiefs of which extended from the Taron to Dwin. Mamikonian took, however, the side of Byzantium and was nominated by Constans II to the command of the country in 657-8. The Byzantine domination did not last long. Mu'āwiya, after he had come to power (41/661), wrote to the people of Armenia, inviting them to recognise anew the Arab sovereignty and to pay tribute, and the Armenian princes dared not oppose this demand. According to the Armenian sources, members of the most notable families (the Mamikonians, the Bagratuni or Bagratids) assumed the government of the land under the first Umayyads down to 'Abd al-Malik. The Arab historians, on the other hand, describe Armenia as being under the

administration of Muslim governors since the conquest of Ḥabīb (see al-Ya'kūbī, al-Balādhūrī, al-Ṭabarī for the period extending from 'Uḥmān to the 'Abbāsīd al-Muntaṣir, and the list of governors in Ghazarian, *op. cit.*, 177-82, Laurent, *op. cit.*, 336-47, R. Vasmer, *Chronology of the governors of Armenia under the first 'Abbāsīds*, in *Memoirs of the College of Orientalists*, Leningrad 1925, i, 381 ff., in Russian).

The first century of Arab domination in Armenia was, despite the destructive wars, an era of national and literary efflorescence for the country. And yet Muslim rule, in the time of the Umayyads and still less in the time of the 'Abbāsīds, under whom the hand of the Arab governors weighed heavily on Armenia, was not able to implant itself solidly in the land. Disturbances and rebellions were therefore frequent. The greatest and most dangerous insurrection against the Arab yoke occurred in the reign of al-Mutawakkil. The Caliph sent his most skilful general, the Turk Bughā the Elder, with a strong army which, after sanguinary and desperate battles in the year 237-8/851-2, succeeded in overcoming the rebellion. The entire nobility was then carried off into captivity. Al-Mutawakkil renounced his hostile policy only when he had need of his troops to fight the Byzantines and in order to prevent a new uprising fomented by the latter. He therefore freed the captive *nakhharar* and recognised (247/861-2) as the chief prince of Armenia the Bagratid Ashot (Ar. Aṣḥūt) who had already rendered to the Arab cause most important services. During the twenty-five years of his rule as the prince of princes Ashot won the affection of all his subjects as well as that of the local lords to such a degree that, on the request of these latter, the Caliph al-Mu'tamid conferred on him in 273/886-7 the title of king. He received the same distinction from the emperor, who concluded with him at the same time a treaty of alliance. The relations of Ashot with the Caliph were never troubled; he paid his tribute regularly, but administered and governed his possessions in his own fashion; the native princes likewise acquired during his reign an almost independent status.

After the death of Ashot (862-90) there reigned his eldest son, Smbat I (Ar. Sambāt), a man indeed of heroic character, but one who was in no wise capable of withstanding his external foes, the Shaybānīds of Diyār Bakr and the Sāqīds of Ādharbāyḍjān. He was unsuccessful in his conflict with the Shaybānīds. Nevertheless, a little later in 286/899 the intervention of the Caliph al-Mu'taqid brought to an end the Shaybānīd domination and delivered the Armenian provinces from these invaders. The Sāqīd Afshīn, however, in his thrust towards the west and the north menaced Armenia unceasingly. The situation of Smbat became still more difficult in the time of the astute Yūsuf, the brother and successor of Afshīn (d. 288/901). Yūsuf understood that above all else he must draw to his side the Ardzruni family which had become, since the reign of Ashot I, the most powerful princely house next to that of the Bagratids. About 909 he even conferred the royal crown on the head of this family, Gagik, the lord of Vaspurakan, a distinction that the Caliph al-Muqtadir renewed in 304/916 and 306/919.

Yūsuf, from the year 910, ravaged Armenia in the course of his expeditions and at length, in the fortress of Kapoit, besieged Smbat, now abandoned by all the princes. In 913 (according to Adontz in 911) the king of Armenia surrendered to his adversary, who, after having inflicted on him a year of imprisonment, had him put to death by cruel

tortures (914; according to Adontz 912). Anarchy ensued in Armenia after the fall of Smbat I. His vigorous son, Ashot II, the "Iron King" (915-29), succeeded in recovering the throne with the support of Byzantine arms; he was at first thwarted by Yūsuf who raised against him one of his cousins, but Yūsuf, seeing that Ashot was getting the better of his foes, granted him recognition and sent him a royal crown (about 917). After the capture of Yūsuf, who had risen in revolt, by the troops of the Caliph in 919, his successor Sbuk (Subuk) allied himself with Ashot II in order to drive out the Caliph's forces and bestowed on him the title of *Shāhānshāh*, a title which recognised as belonging to Ashot suzerainty over the principalities of Vaspurakan, Iberia, Georgia and other regions. Ashot II raised the Bagratid power to its apogee and ruled over the greatest part of central and northern Armenia where Smbat had already considerably enlarged the territory of this family. His reign ended in tranquillity after a reconciliation of the Armenian princes and the nominal recognition of his supremacy by his rivals, notably the Ardzruni. Dwin, however, remained in the hands of Yūsuf's lieutenant.

In southern Armenia the Ardzruni (see above) ruled over a less extensive territory (Vaspurakan, with Van as the capital). Apart from these two great kingdoms there still existed a series of smaller principalities which for the most part recognised only nominally the suzerainty of the Bagratids. Moreover, in the south, in the region of the Apahunik and Lake Van, there were several Arab emirates, independent but isolated from the Caliphate. The history of Armenia is not therefore conterminous with that of the Bagratids.

Throughout the entire reign of Ashot II and for much of the reign of his successor Abas (929-53) the war between Byzantium and the Arabs continued without interruption and was at times fought out in Armenia. The Greeks operated in northern Armenia as well as in southern Armenia against the Armeno-Arab emirates of Lake Van which, according to the Byzantine sources, were compelled to submit to the emperor Romanus Lecapenus (919-44). The last Sāqīd amirs of Ādharbāyḍjān retained hardly any influence in Armenia. The Ḥamdānīds, who were the masters of Diyār Bakr, bordering on Armenia, and were in constant war against the Byzantines, succeeded for a time in exacting from all Armenia (according to the historians Ibn Zāfir and Ibn al-Azraq) a recognition of their sovereignty and established a more effective dominion over the Armeno-Arab emirates in the region of Lake Van. These emirates later recognized the suzerainty of Bādḥ, the founder of the Marwānīd dynasty [q.v.] of Diyār Bakr, and of his successors.

After the Ḥamdānīds, it was the Musāfirīds [q.v.] of Ādharbāyḍjān who exacted from the princes of Armenia a recognition of their suzerainty, imposed tribute on them (see Ibn Ḥawqāl<sup>2</sup>, 354, for the year 955-6) and became the masters of Dwin.

Ashot III (952-77) transferred the official capital of the Bagratid kingdom to the little fortress of Ani [q.v.] which he and his successor Smbat II, by erecting there magnificent buildings, transformed into a pearl of the Orient. It is during his reign that the territory of Kars was raised to the rank of a kingdom for the benefit of a prince of the Bagratid house and that Byzantium, moreover, in 968 annexed the region of Taron, the fief of another Bagratid.

Smbat II (977-89) and his brother Gagik I (990-1020) ruled with vigour and success but, in consequence of a ridiculous family policy, became involved in almost continual strife with the neighbouring Christian principalities; they were also in conflict with the neighbouring Muslim amirs who in turn took possession of Dvin, imposed tribute on the Armenians and were at times invited by the Armenians themselves to intervene in their quarrels. Thus the Bagratid of Kars called in a Musāfirid amir against Smbat. In 987-8 Smbat had to recognise the authority of the Rawwādid prince of Ādharbāyḍjān, the successor of the Musāfirids, and to pay him the tribute due in former years.

In the conflict against the Rawwādid Mamlān concerning the other emirates of southern Armenia Gagik allied himself with Davit' of Taik' who was the master of a great part of Iberia (Georgia) and, about 993, had seized Malāzgerd from the Marwānid prince of Diyār Bakr. Mamlān was twice defeated, the second time decisively, in 998, at Tsumb near Ardjīsh, and to take refuge in that place.

The emperor Basil II (976-1026) aimed, however, at gaining possession of all the Armenian principalities. Having succeeded in obtaining from Davit' of Taik', in 990, the promise that he would cede to him his territories after his death, the emperor annexed Taik' and also Malāzgerd in 1001 after the death of Davit'. Following the death of Gagik I, troubles arose in the Bagratid kingdom owing to the competition for the throne between his sons, Johannes-Smbat and Ashot IV, the younger brother, to the intervention of the king of Georgia and the king of Vaspurakan in this matter, and to the first Saldjūkid incursions. Basil II took advantage of these events and succeeded, partly through annexation and partly through mediation between the princes, in extending his authority over Armenia. Senek'erim, the last Ardzruni, abandoned Vaspurakan to Byzantium in 1021 through fear of a threatening Turkish assault and received in exchange the region of Sebasteia (Sivas), to which were added other territories in Cappadocia (Caesarea, Tzamandos). The Muslim amirates of Lake Van (Akhlat, Ardjīsh, Berkri) were annexed between 1023 and 1034. King Johannes of Ani, intimidated and seeing his lands encircled by Byzantium, proclaimed the emperor his heir, retaining temporary possession of Ani until his death. On the death of Ashot IV (1040), which was soon followed by that of Johannes (1041), with whom he shared possession of the Bagratid realm, the emperor Michael IV resolved at last to incorporate Armenia wholly within his empire, but his army was defeated and the son of Ashot IV, Gagik II, then only 17 years old, was proclaimed king by the Armenian nobles (1042). As soon, however, as Constantine Monomachos had ascended the throne, he decided to annex Ani and, in order to weaken Gagik, did not hesitate to launch against him the amir of Dvin, Abū 'l-Aswār, of the dynasty of the Shaddādids of Gandja (see SHADDĀD, BANŪ). Taken between two fires, Gagik allowed himself to be drawn to Constantinople and was obliged to cede Ani (1045). He received in recompense lands in Cappadocia in the themes of Charsianon and Lykandos. Thereafter the greater part of Armenia was governed directly by Byzantium and the discontent provoked by the centralising policy of the empire and the favours granted to the Chalcedonian clergy explain in part the success of the Saldjūkids in Armenia.

The Bagratid kingdom of Kars was only annexed by Byzantium in 1064 after the Saldjūkid invasion;

the last king Gagik-Abas surrendered it to the emperor Constantine X Ducas, who indemnified him with estates in Cappadocia.

Thus, following their kings, an important part of the Armenian people settled down in the territories of the Byzantine empire. Armenians, however, had long been found outside Armenia. It is well known that they furnished Byzantium with soldiers and a number of generals and even emperors. It was Armenians who, under the famous Melias (Arm. Mleh), colonised the regions of Lykandos, Tzamandos, Larissa and Symposion, when, at the beginning of the 10th century, Byzantium decided to reoccupy these territories of Cappadocia which had been devastated by the Arab raids, and who assured the defence of these lands and at the same time won renown in the Arab-Byzantine wars. There were Armenians, too, in the Muslim territories, serving the Caliphs, but converted to Islam, like the celebrated amir 'Alī al-Armanī who died in 863, not long after he had been named governor of Armenia and Ādharbāyḍjān. Armenians were also to be found in Egypt in the army of the Tūlūnids. It is above all in Byzantine territory, however, that the immigration was important and contributed, in the second part of the 10th century to the repopulation of the lands in Cilicia and northern Syria reconquered by Byzantium and evacuated by the Muslim inhabitants. The geographer Muḥaddasī (BGA iii, 189) states that in his time the Amanus was peopled with Armenians. Asoghik tells us that under the pontificate of Khaçik I (972-92) there were Armenian bishops at Antioch and Tarsus. During the course of the 11th century the rôle of the Armenians in these regions (Cappadocia, Commagene, northern Syria and even Mesopotamia, e.g., at Edessa) was considerable; numerous Armenian officers acted as governors of towns for Byzantium and, profiting from the troubles caused by the first Saldjūkid invasions, founded Armenian principalities (see ARMAN). During the same period Armenians were to be found with the Fātimids of Egypt. Following the Armenian Badr al-Djamālī [q.v.] who, after being a slave, had become commander of the Egyptian troops in Syria and then rose to the rank of wazīr at Cairo (1073/94), there entered into Egypt, first, the Armenians with whom he had already surrounded himself, and later all those whom he summoned there and who took service in the army and even in the administration. These Armenians furnished to the Fātimid Caliphate a number of wazīrs, of whom one, Bahrām [q.v.] remained a Christian. The introduction into Egypt of an important Armenian population led to the creation of numerous Armenian monasteries and churches and also of an Armenian catholicosate. The Armenians were regarded with favour by some of the Fātimid Caliphs. See on this subject M. Canard, *Un vizir chrétien à l'époque fatimite*, in *AIEO*, Algiers, xii (1954) and *Notes sur les Arméniens en Égypte à l'époque fatimite*, *ibid.*, xiii (1955). Cf. J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoudides dans l'Asie Occidentale jusqu'en 1081*, in *Annales de l'Est*, 28th year, fasc. 2, Paris, 1914 (1919). (M. CANARD).

## II(b). The Armenians under the Turks and the Mongols.

While these last events were taking place, the Turkomāns, before long led by the Saldjūkid dynasty, were conquering Muslim Iran as far as the Armeno-Byzantine borders. Although this thrust was probably not, as is sometimes alleged, the cause of

the first losses of Armenian territory to Byzantium (JA., 1954, 275-9 and 1956, 129-34) it nevertheless constituted a tragic threat to the Armenians in the middle of the 5th/11th century. After a period of Turkomān ravages, the battle of Manāzgird (1071) [see MALAZGERD] marked the end of Byzantine supremacy, and the Turkomāns settled in Armenia, Cappadocia and throughout most of Asia Minor. The Armenian territories on the borders of Ādharbāydjān were incorporated in the Saldjūkid empire, while those in the centre and west took shape as different principalities: that of Akhlāt [q.v.], founded by a Saldjūkid officer and vassal, Sukmān al-Kuthlī, who assumed the ambitious title of *Shāh-i Arman*; that of Ani [q.v.], assigned by the Saldjūkids to a branch of the former Kurdish dynasty of Arrān, the Shaddādids (V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953, 79-106); and finally the autonomous Turkomān states of the Saltūkids at Erzerum and the Mangudjakids at Erzindjān, while the Dānīshmandids of Cappadocia and the Saldjūkids of Anatolia and the Taurus contended for possession of Malaṭya, and Diyār Bakr was eventually absorbed by the Artukids. The position changed at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, when the greater part of Diyār Bakr and the principality of Akhlāt were annexed by the Ayyūbids of Egypt and Syria; later, following the temporary invasion of Armenia and Asia Minor by the Kh̲w̲ārizmians, the principalities of Erzindjān and Erzerum, together with that of Akhlāt, were incorporated, as the Dānīshmandid territories had been earlier, in the united and powerful Saldjūkid state of Asia Minor. In the regions of Arrān and Ani however, the Armenians again became, if not independent, at least subjects of a Christian state (but of a different Church), as a result of Georgian expansion at the expense of the Atabeks of Ādharbāydjān and the Shaddādids.

Although some Armenians had made agreements with the invaders, and most in any case had tried to come to terms with them, the devastation caused in the early stages had accentuated and increased the emigration which had been set in motion by Byzantine policy, and which now took the direction of the Taurus Mountains and the Cilician plain. For a time, after Manāzgird, all the territories from the Cilician Taurus to Malaṭya, including Edessa and Antioch, were reunited under the control of a former Armeno-Byzantine general, Philaretos, whose descendants still maintained their position in the Taurus at Edessa and Malaṭya, under Turkish suzerainty, at the time of the arrival of the Crusaders. The Armenian populations of the Syro-Euphrates borders were then incorporated in the free states of Antioch and Edessa, but, in Cilicia, a national dynasty, that of the Rupenians, gradually achieved freedom; its rise, sanctioned in 1198 by the recognition of the royal title of Leo the Great, attracted so many Armenians that the area could with justice be referred to as a "Little Armenia". We are not required here to follow its history, but only to draw attention to the fact that the struggle against his neighbours and hostile factions impelled Prince Meḥ temporarily (from 1170 to 1174) to become a Muslim in order to obtain the protection of Nūr al-Dīn [q.v.], and that for a longer period, in the 7th/13th century, under the new Hethumian dynasty, the kingdom had to wage hard battles against the Saldjūkids of Asia Minor, to whom they were obliged at intervals to pay a vague allegiance (cf. a treatise by P. Bedoukian in course of publication for the Amer. Numismatic Society).

Nevertheless, once the initial devastation was over, and stable states had been organised, the lot of the Armenians under Muslim domination was no worse than it had been under earlier Muslim régimes. Quite apart from Malikshāh, whose generosity the Armenian historians are unanimous in praising, it is difficult to see major difficulties occurring in the principalities of Asia Minor, where there remained an ecclesiastical organisation, monasteries, some cultural activity (cf. for example S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, Harvard 1947, 133), and large Armenian towns, such as Erzindjān and Erzerum. The only dramatic events which occurred were due to special causes. There was first of all, about 1180, the massacre of the Armenians of Djabal Sassūn, as a result of the disorders among the almost autonomous Turkomāns and Kurds of that region, and especially, the massacre of part of the Christian population of Edessa, at the time of the recapture of the city from the Franks by Zangī in 1144 and Nūr al-Dīn in 1146.

Fundamentally, in fact, it was not for religious but political reasons that the Armenians at different times suffered at the hands of their Muslim masters. Despite some friction, the Armenians of the west generally acted as "accomplices" of the Franks. This was the reason, moreover, for the frequent disputes in the Armenian Church, especially between the Armenians of the Muslim States of Great Armenia, who were primarily concerned not to incur the ill-will of their masters, and those of Cilicia, who were drawn more towards the Latin world; and it was similarly the attitude of the Armenians to the Mongol invasion which determined the reactions of the Muslim powers towards them.

The establishment of the Mongol empire heralded profound changes in the conditions of life in the different religious communities of the Near East. In the Muslim states conquered by them, the Mongols usually relied on the support of the religious minorities, Christians in particular. Favourably impressed by the news received from his eastern co-religionists, Hethum I acted as the precursor of the Mongols on the shores of the Mediterranean, against the Muslims of Syria and Asia Minor. But this action of the Armenians in itself provoked the wrath of the Muslims, with the result that, when the Mamlūks of Egypt took the offensive against the Mongols, the Cilician kingdom was one of their principal targets. The break-up of the Mongol empire in the 8th/14th century left the Armenians defenceless, and the capital of the Cilician kingdom, Sis, succumbed in 1375. The seat of the Katholikos was moved back to Etchmiadzin, near the Araxes, in the 9th/15th century.

In Great Armenia, however, the situation was not favourable for long. About 1300, the Mongols became Muslims, and, although their toleration was not affected, all the same there was no longer any question of special protection. Moreover, Mongol rule had increased in Armenia the size of the nomad element, primarily Turkomān, which inflicted great injury on the peasants, for the most part Armenians. Later Great Armenia, in common with all its neighbours, experienced the savage assault of Tīmūr, and the establishment in the 9th/15th century of a stable and well-organised principality under the Turkomān dynasty of the Ak-Koyunlu [q.v.] was not sufficient to restore the former strength of the Armenian community; again many Armenians emigrated, this time mainly to the regions north of the Black Sea. The wars between the Ottomans and the Šafawids



were still to be fought on Armenian soil, and part of the Armenians of Āḍharbāyḍjān were later deported as a military security measure to Iṣfahān and elsewhere. Semi-autonomous seigniories survived, with varying fortunes, in the mountains of Karabagh, to the north of Āḍharbāyḍjān, but came to an end in the 18th century.

**Bibliography:** (in addition to the general works): the general sources, in all languages, for the history of the Near East from the 11th to the 15th century will not be enumerated here; a study of these will be found, with regard to the period of the Crusades, in *Syrie du Nord* mentioned below, 1-100; special attention will be drawn here to the not inconsiderable number of 12th and 13th century Armenian historians, especially Matthew of Edessa and the anonymous "Royal Historian" used in the works of Alishan mentioned below (an edition of the text has been prepared by Skinner), and to the historians of Great Armenia at the time of the Mongol conquest; in connexion with the latter, the *History of the Nations of the Archers*, for long attributed to Malachi the Monk, has been restored by its editor-translators R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye (*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, xii, 1949) to its real author Gregory of Akanc. For the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, only one noteworthy Armenian chronicle exists, that of Thomas of Medzoph, part of which has been made accessible in French by F. Nève, *Exposé des guerres de Tamerlan* etc., Brussels 1860; for the Ṣafawid period, Arakel of Tabriz, trans. by M. F. Brosset, *Collection d'Auteurs arméniens*, i.

Modern works: J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjucides*, 1920; Cl. Cahen, *La première pénétration turque en Anatolie, Byzantion* 1948; idem, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, 1940; the histories of the Crusades of de Grousset, Runciman, and the syndicated *History of the Crusades* of Philadelphia; L. Alishan, *Sissouan*, French trans., Venice 1899; the Introduction by Dulaurier to *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens arméniens* i. Among other special studies of recent date, O. Turan, *Les Seldjucides et leurs sujets non-musulmans*, in *Studia Islamica*, i, 1953. (CL. CAHEN)

## II(c) Ottoman Armenia.

The Ottomans conquered western Armenia in the last decade of the 14th century, under Bāyezīd I, and eastern Armenia in the following two centuries under Mehemmed II and Selīm I. They eventually became masters of the whole of Armenia, Great and Little (separated *grosso modo* by the upper reaches of the Euphrates), except the Khanate of Erivan (or rather Erevan), in Persian and Turkish Revan, a region containing the patriarchal seat of Eḏmiadzin (in Turkish *Üḫ Kilitse*) and relics of the ancient capitals of the Kings of Armenia. This region, situated in Transcaucasia on the middle Araxes, for long disputed by Turks and Persians, was ceded by the treaty of Türkmen-Çay (1 February 1828) to the Russians, who have since created from it the Soviet Federal Republic of Armenia. In the south of this region is situated Mt. Ararat (in Turkish *Ağrı Dağı*, in Armenian *Masis*), on which western expeditions periodically seek and claim to discover the wreckage of Noah's Ark. It is the point where the Turkish, Persian and Russian frontiers meet.

The province of Kars on the other hand, ceded to the Russians in 1878, was recovered by Turkey in 1918.

Ottoman administrative terminology—especially with respect to the programmes of reforms promised to the European Powers—adopted the term *wilāyat-i sitte* "the six provinces (*scil.*, populated by Armenians)": *vis.*, Van, Bitlis (alternating with Mush), Erzerum, Harput, Sivas and Diyarbakir. No account was taken by this convention of the *sandjak* of Marash, forming part of the former *wilāyet* of Aleppo, or of the former *wilāyet* of Adana (Cilicia or Little Armenia in the strict sense of the term).

Turkish domination did not result in the assimilation of the Armenians, who were preserved by the difference of religion. Many Armenians, especially among the men and the Catholics, adopted Turkish as their second, or even as their first language.

After the capture of Constantinople an important change occurred in the life of the Armenian community. Up to 1453 it had at its head three patriarchs or *katholikos* (katholikos): (1) the patriarch of Eḏmiadzin, restored to this monastery since 1441; (2) the patriarch of Sis (now Kozan) in Cilicia, who had resided in this town since 1292 and did not recognise (1); (3) the patriarch of Aghtamar, (a small island in the Lake Van), since 1113. The Armenian bishop of Jerusalem also bore the title and ornaments of a patriarch.

After the conquest of Byzantium, Mehemmed II, true to his political views, summoned to Istanbul the Armenian bishop of Brusa, Joachim, and made him a patriarch with the same prerogatives the patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church. In this way the Armenian "nation" (Turkish *millet*) was formed. A council of the clergy and a council of the laity assisted the patriarch who was elected from the "prelates" superior to the ordinary bishops and called *markhassa*, properly "saint priest" (from the Syriac *mārkhassa*; the etymology through the Turko-Arabic *murakhhkhaṣa* must be rejected). The residence of the patriarch of Constantinople is in the Kum Kapu quarter.

From then on on a better footing, the Armenians succeeded in occupying an important position in Turkey, notably as bankers (*şarrāf*, properly "money-changers"). Ubicini (*Lettres sur la Turquie*, 1854, ii, 311-14) gives interesting details about the position of genuine strength which they had achieved in their dealings with the provincial pashas and the Ottoman government in general. They were also merchants (often cloth merchants) and active caravan leaders who maintained connexions between Istanbul, Moldavia, Poland (Lemberg, Lwów), Nuremberg, Bruges and Antwerp. As artisans they were architects, house-painters, manufacturers of silk stuffs and gunpowder, and printers (Armenian printing-press at Istanbul in 1679). Like the Jews they were exempt from military service until the revolution of the Young Turks.

The most important events in the history of Ottoman Armenia are:

- 1) The religious schism, which resulted in the formation of a (Uniate) Catholic Community and internal persecution (Protestant propaganda played a less important part);
- 2) The revolutionary activity;
- 3) The repression and massacres.

Roman propaganda had been sporadically effective in Armenia since the 12th century. It was resumed by the oecumenical council of Florence (1438-45) and, in 1587, by the famous Pope Sixtus Quintus, among the Armenians of Syria, but found its greatest driving force in Mechtar (born at Sivas in 1675, died Venice 1749). Converted to Catholicism by the Jesuits, he



succeeded in founding a remarkable order which bore his name. The Republic of Venice ceded in 1717 to the Mechitarists the small island of Saint-Lazare, near Lido, where their monastery was installed in an old leper hospital. After the death of Mechitar a schism occurred, and a certain number of clergy retired to Trieste and then to Vienna (1810). There was also a subsidiary branch of the order at Padua which, transferred to Paris, continued to exist there for twenty years. The Mechitarists possessed rich libraries (numerous oriental MSS.), and printing-presses; from these they published historical and philological works which gave a place to Turkish as well as Armenian studies.

Even during the lifetime of Mechitar the over-zealousness of Catholic propaganda, which was gaining ground in the richest and most enlightened section of the Armenian community, provoked a lively reaction among the patriarchs of the Gregorian persuasion. The latter were supported by the Ottoman government, which regarded with disfavour these "Frankish plots".

There were martyrs among the Armenian Catholics who refused to abjure their faith, as in the case of Der Gomidas or Don Cosme and two of his followers (1707). He was the grandfather of Cosme Comidas of Carbo gnano, an interpreter at the Spanish embassy and author of a Turkish grammar in Italian (Rome, 1794). The Catholics suffered further persecutions in 1759, and even during the reign of the reforming Sultan Mahmūd II, in 1815 and 1828.

They found allies, on the other hand, in the French ambassadors and the Jesuits. Thus the imprudent M. de Ferriol secured from the Porte the banishment of the patriarch Avedis, who was hostile to the Catholics, after which the latter was abducted and incarcerated in the Bastille. He died in 1711 at Paris in the house of François Pétis de la Croix. The Jesuits at the same period secured the closure of the Armenian printing-press.

In 1830 General Guilleminot, who also was a French ambassador, secured for the Catholics a separate ecclesiastical organisation, and in 1866 Mgr. Hassun, already patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, assumed the title of Catholic-Armenian Patriarch of Cilicia for all the Ottoman empire.

To what cause are the Armenian revolts to be attributed? Certainly not to utilitarian considerations. "The Armenians", wrote the impartial Ubicini (*op. cit.* ii, 347), "are of all the nations subject to the Porte, the one which has most interests in common with the Turks and is the most directly interested in preserving them". See also Victor Bérard, *La Politique du Sultan* (Abdulhamid II), 1897, 149. In the official texts, and when compared with the Greeks and Macedonians, the Armenians were termed *millet-i şâdiqa*, "the loyal nation".

The causes of Armenian discontent were as follows:

- 1) The vexatious and troublesome behaviour of, and the acts of brigandage committed by, the Kurdish and Circassian immigrants.
- 2) The negligence, exactions and extortions of Ottoman officials.
- 3) Russian incitement, especially from 1912 onwards.
- 4) A keen love of independence in a generally courageous people which prides itself on being one of the most ancient known, and which still looks back nostalgically to the short periods during which it succeeded in maintaining its autonomy. Certain districts even succeeded in remaining virtually in-

dependent; for example the unconquerable mountaineers of Zeytun (now Süleymanlı, in the present *wilāyet* of Maraş), Haçin (now Saimbeyli, in the present *wilāyet* of Seyhan) and Sasun (Kabilcoz, in the present *wilāyet* of Siirt).

5) The activities of the revolutionary committees, sometimes particularly audacious, as in the case of the armed attack in broad daylight by 24 Armenians, and the siege of the Ottoman Bank at Galata (26 August 1896). The extremist or terrorist revolutionaries were called *Taşnakçuluk*. There existed a more moderate committee, the Hinçak, formed in 1867 at Paris by Avedis Nazarbek, an Armenian from the Caucasus.

All these factors served as reason or excuse for a violent campaign of repression which took the form of mass deportations or massacres. With the connivance or at the instance of the authorities there occurred, among a people who were by nature kindly and even chivalrous, a long and contagious outburst of religious fanaticism and racial hatred. The calvary of the Armenians in Turkey began with the Erzerum affair (25 February 1890), went through numerous crises, notably in 1895-6 and in 1909 (Adana), and reached its culmination during the First World War, in 1915, during the systematic suppression of the Armenians organised by the government of the Young Turks.

*Armeno-Turkish war of 1920.* — After the collapse in 1917 of the Bolshevised Russian front, which in Turkey passed to the west of Trebizond and Erzincan, it was in the main the Armenian corps formed by the government of Transcaucasia which had to contain the Turkish counter-thrust. It was defeated and driven from Turkish territory (Turkey concluded the treaty of Batum with the Armenian Republic on 4 June 1918). In 1920 Mustafa Kemal Paşa, in order to put an end to a state of undeclared war, appointed General Kâzım Karabekir Paşa, commanding the 15th army corps, to the command of the north-east front. The troops of the "United Armenian Republic" of Taşnakist allegiance, were again defeated, and the treaty of Alexandropolis (in Turkish Gümrü, now Leninakan) of 2 December 1920 confirmed the gains won by the Turks, the most important of which was the recovery of Karş.

*Bibliography:* As far as is known, no works specially devoted to Turkish Armenia exist in any western language (the works in Armenian are not accessible to me). Such information as exists, often bearing the imprint of a strongly partisan bias, is to be gleaned here and there in the general works on Turkey. The following should be mentioned: Amédée Jaubert, *Voy. en Arm. et en Perse*, 1821; Comte de Cholet, *Arm., Kurdistan et Mésopotamie*, 1892; André Mandelstamm, *La Soc. des Nations et les Puissances devant le problème armén.*, 1923; Aghasi, *Zeytoun depuis les orig. jusqu'à l'insurrection de 1895*, translation by Archag Tchobanian, preface by Victor Bérard, 1897.—There is a copious bibliography on the massacres. The following only will be mentioned: *Le traitement des Armén. dans l'Emp. Ott.* (1915-1916), extracts from the "Blue Book" with a preface by Viscount Bryce, 1916; René Pinon, *La suppression des Armén.*, 1916, *Les massacres d'Arménie; témoignages des victimes*, preface by G. Clemenceau, 1896; *Khâfirât-i Şadr-i esbak Kâmil paşa*, Istanbul 1329/1911, 2nd ed, 184 ff.; *Sa'îd paşanın Kâmil paşa Khâfirâtına Dîwâbları*, Istanbul 1327/1909, 78 ff. (J. DENY)

### III. Division, Administration, Population, Commerce, Natural Products and Industry.

#### Division.

Since the size of Armenia, in its territorial delimitation, has varied much in the course of the centuries, the regions into which the lands designated under this name were divided have not always been the same. In ancient times the Armenians (see the *Geogr. of the Pseudo-Moses Xorenaci*, 606) separated the land into two unequal sections: Mez-Haik (Armenia major) and Pokr-Haik (Armenia minor). Great Armenia, i.e., Armenia proper, extended from the Euphrates in the west to the neighbourhood of the Kur in the east and was divided into 15 provinces; Little Armenia ran from the Euphrates to the sources of the Halys. The Arabs also were acquainted with this twofold division (see, e.g., Yākūt, i, 220, 13). Yet, in contradistinction to the Armenians, the Romans and the Byzantines, they extended the name Armīniya to the whole of the land situated between the Kur and the Caspian, i.e., to *Djurzān* (Georgia, Iberia), *Arrān* (Albania) and the mountainous regions of the Caucasus as far as the pass of Darband (Bāb al-Abwāb), the reason being that the history of this country, especially in the struggle against the Muslims, reveals itself as closely linked with that of Armenia. By Armīniya al-Kubrā, "Great Armenia", the Arabs (see Yākūt, *ibid.*) understood particularly the districts which have *Khilāt* (*Akhilāt*, [q.v.]) as their centre, whereas they applied the name Armīniya al-Ṣuḡhrā, "Little Armenia", to the region of Tiflis (i.e., to Georgia). Ibn Ḥawkal (ed. De Goeje, 295) was acquainted with yet another division of Armenia proper (excluding Albania and Iberia) into Inner (Armīniya dākhila) and Outer (Armīniya khāridja); to the former belonged the districts of Dabil (Dwīn), Naṣhawā (Nakhčawan) and Kālīkalā, later Arzan al-Rūm (Karin) and to the latter the region of Lake Van (Berkri, Akhlāt, Ardīsh, Waṣṭān, etc.).

Apart from this division there existed also another of ancient date which was adopted by the Byzantines (partition of Justinian in 536) and which, with the changes introduced by Maurice (591), remained in force until the Arab invasion. This system (Armenia prima, secunda, tertia, quarta) was also taken over by the Arabs; but, in the classification of the various districts among these four groups, the Arabs deviate so markedly from their predecessors that the explanation of this divergence can only be found by supposing a new distribution of districts to have occurred after the conquest. The data given by the Arab historians and geographers differ, moreover, greatly among themselves. Here, in essentials, is a table of the Arab division: (1) Armenia I: Arrān (Albania) with the capital Barḡha'a and the land between the Kur and the Caspian (*Shirwān*); (2) Armenia II: *Djurzān* (Georgia); (3) Armenia III: comprising central Armenia proper with the districts of Dabil (Dwīn), Basfurraḡiān (Vasurakān), Baghravand, and Naṣhawā (Nakhčawan); (4) Armenia IV: the south-western region with *Shimshāt* (Arsamosata), Kālīkalā, Akhlāt and Ardīsh.

Furthermore, when mention is made in the Arab authors (al-*Sharīshī*, ii, 156 ff., and Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm*, 387 = al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 364, 5, 12) of a threefold partition of Armenia reproducing very exactly the division that existed before Justinian, it transpires, from the enumeration of the districts included therein, that this division is obtained only by the complete exclusion of Armenia II.

See, on the pre-Islamic divisions of Armenia, H. Gelzer, *Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, Leipzig 1889, 66 and, by the same scholar, the edition of George of Cyprus (Lipsiae 1890), xlvii ff. (ed. E. Honigsmann, Brussels 1939, with the *Synecdemus* of Hiéroclès, 49-70); and, for the Arab period, Ghazarian in the *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 207-8, Thopdschian, *l.c.*, ii, 55 and in the *Mitteil. des Semin. für orient. Sprachen*, 1905, ii, 137, J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, 299 ff., and R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 239.

#### Administration.

In regard to the internal situation in Armenia during the Arab period (see especially Ghazarian, *loc. cit.* ii, 193-206; Thopdschian, *loc. cit.*, ii, 123-7; Laurent, *op. cit.*, *passim*) this land did not always constitute a separate province, but was frequently united with *Ādharbaydjan* or with the *Djazira* under a single government. The governor (*'āmil* or *wālī*), usually appointed by the Caliph himself, resided to the south of Erivān, near the Araxes, at Dwīn, which had already been, before the Muslim conquest, the seat of a Persian *marzbān*. The principal task of the governor consisted in protecting the country against its external and internal enemies; he had at his disposal for this purpose an army which was garrisoned, not in Armenia itself, but in *Ādharbaydjan* (Marāgha and Ardabil were the general headquarters). The governor had above all to see to the punctual payment of taxes. For the rest, the Arabs did not concern themselves with the internal administration; this was left to a number of local lords (Arm. *ishkhān*, and *nakhharar*, Greek *arcbōn*, Ar., *batrik*, patrikios) who, after the Arab invasion, retained all their possessions and enjoyed within their domains a certain independence. Each of these lords, from 'Abbāsīd times onward, was also obliged, in case of war, to furnish a contingent of troops without receiving any indemnity.

Armenia was, among the provinces of the empire of the Caliphs, a land taxed only moderately. In place of the various kinds of taxes (*dizya*, *kharaḡī*, etc.: capitation tax, land tax, etc.) the system of *mukāṭa'a* was applied from the beginning of the 9th century, i.e., the Armenian princes had to pay a fixed sum. The list of contributions given by Ibn Khaldūn, which relates to the period of greatest prosperity for the Caliphate, notes for Armenia (taken in the broad sense of the Arabs) the sum of 13 million dirhems, i.e., more than 15½ million gold francs, as the revenue of the years 158-70/775-86; in addition to this there were also the revenues in kind (carpets, mules, etc.). Kudāma gives as the average figure for taxes during the years 204-37/819-52 no more than 9 million dirhems only. The treaties, in respect to taxation, were scrupulously observed by the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsīds and were violated only by Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sāḡī. See, in regard to financial matters, A. von Kremer, *Kulturgesch. des Orients*, i, 343, 358, 368, 377; Ghazarian, *op. cit.*, 203 ff.; Thopdschian, *op. cit.* (1904), ii, 132 ff. The Arab monetary system was also introduced into Armenia; under the Umayyads, coins were already being struck there (see Thopdschian, ii, 127 ff.).

According to Yākūt (i, 222, 12) there were in Armenia not less than 18,000 localities great and small, of which 1,000 were situated on the Araxes alone (according to Ibn al-Fakīh). In Arab mediaeval times the most important towns of Armenia proper were: Dabil (Dwīn) which, as the residence of the

Muslim government, filled the rôle of a capital throughout the period of the Caliphs — while it had a large population at this time, it became, in the modern period, nothing more than an insignificant village; in addition, Kālīkalā, later called Arzan al-Rūm (Erzerūm), Arzindjān (Erzindjān), Malāzjdjird (Manazkert, Mantzikert), Badlis (Bitlis), Akhlāt (Khilāt), Ardjish, Nashawā (arm. Nakhčawān), Ani and Karş (see the separate articles).

The native Armenians formed, in the time of the Caliphs, the main part of the population; but there were strong Arab colonies at Dabli, Kālīkalā, and likewise at Bardha'a in Arrān and Tiflis in Djurzān, which were the chief bases of Arab power. Outside these great towns there existed also more extensive settlements of Arab tribes, notably to the southwest in the region of Alznik (Arzan in the Arzanene); the old district of Badjunays (Arm. Apahunik) with its capital Malāzjdjird was controlled by a branch of the famous tribe, the Kays, who also held a number of places on the northern shore of Lake Van. The growth of the Bagratid dominion was "like a thorn in the flesh" to these Muslim colonies, since it hindered the consolidation and extension of their own power (see especially, on these colonies, Thopdschian, *op. cit.*, 1904, ii, 115 ff.; Markwart, *Südarmerien*, 501 ff.; and, on their situation in the 10th century, M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des Hamdānides*, 471-87).

After the Russo-Persian and Russo-Turkish wars of the 19th century, Turkey, Russia and Persia shared possession of the Armenian territory and, until the war of 1914-18, there existed a Persian, a Russian and a Turkish Armenia.

(1) Persian Armenia: the smallest of the three sections, with an area of about 15,000 sq. km.; it embraces only a few districts and forms, as it were, an appendix to Russian Armenia; politically, it is joined to the province of Ādharbaydjān. To the west it touches the Turkish wilāyet of Van, while to the north, facing Russia, the Araxes serves as the frontier over a distance of about 175 km. from the eastern foot of Ararat as far as Urdābādh (Ordubādh). The chief town is Khoy. In addition, Maku, Čors and Marand should be mentioned. In general Persian Armenia corresponds to the eastern part of the old Armenian province of Vaspurakān (Ar. Basfurrajdjān). There exists, moreover, an Armenian population at Išfahān, resulting from the deportation of the inhabitants of Djulfa [q.v.] by Shāh 'Abbās I in 1605.

(2) Russian Armenia: before the war of 1914-18 it formed the southern and south-western part of the province of Transcaucasia and covered an area of about 103,000 sq. km. It embraced the regions bordering on Persia and Turkey and, in particular, the whole of the governments of Erivān (27,777 sq. km.), Karş (18,749 sq. km.) and Baštūm (6,976 sq. km.). The governments of Elizavetpol and Tiflis were Armenian only in their southern and western parts, and that of Kutais only on the right bank of the river Rion. The most notable towns of Russian Armenia were: Baštūm, important strategically and commercially, and capital of the government of the same name; in the government of Tiflis, the two strongholds of Akhalkhalaki [q.v.] and Akhalkhalaki; in the government of Karş, the very strong fortress of the same name, important also as a commercial centre, and the old town of Ardahān set high on its hill, a citadel of the first order; in the government of Erivān, which once belonged in great part to Persia, Erivān itself, and 18 km. to the west the famous monastery of Ečmiadzin, the religious

centre of the Armenians, Nakhčawān (Nashawā, [q.v.]) which, like Erivān, has played a pre-eminent rôle in Armenian history, and Alexandropol (the ancient Gumri), an important frontier fortress until 1878 and thereafter a town given over to the silk industry; in the government of Elizavetpol, Elizavetpol (the ancient Gandja, [q.v.]), Shūsha situated in the region of Kara-Bagh and formerly the capital of a separate khānate, and the frontier town of Ordubādh (Urdābādh) on the Araxes.

(3) Turkish Armenia: the greater part of the Armenian territory, far superior in size to the Russian and Persian sections taken together, had been for 500 years in the hands of the Turks and included the wilāyets of Bitlis, Erzerūm, Ma'mūret al-'Aziz (now Elazığ, i.e., Kharpūt), Van and, although only in part, Diyārbekir, with a total area of about 186,500 sq. km. The most important towns were Sivas, Erzerūm, Van, Erzindjān, Bitlis, Kharpūt, Mūsh and Bāyazid [qq.v.].

Save in Persian Armenia, the war of 1914 brought about important changes in this situation. In 1917, after the retreat of the Russian troops from the Caucasian front, the regime which was then created in Armenia and itself formed part of the provisional government of Transcaucasia (Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidjān), undertook the task of defending the front against the Turks, but could not prevent the latter from regaining Erzindjān and Erzerūm (February-March 1918), and then Karş (25 April) after the peace of Brest-Litovsk which granted to the Turks possession of Turkish Armenia, together with Karş and Ardahān, previously in Russian hands since 1878. After the dissolution of the Transcaucasian government and the formation of an independent Armenian republic (28 May 1918), the republic itself was reduced, by the treaty of Baštūm (4 June 1918) to Erivān and the region of Lake Sevan, the Turks and the Azerbaidjanis sharing between themselves the remainder of Russian Armenia. There now ensued the collapse of the Turks on other fronts and the armistice of Mudros (30 October 1918). At the beginning of 1919 Armenian forces reoccupied Alexandropol (Leninakān) and Karş and came into conflict with Georgia over the region of Akhalkhalaki and with Azerbaidjān over the Kara-Bagh. The Armenian Republic, recognised *de facto* in January 1920 by the Allies, received *de jure* recognition by the treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920). Nevertheless, the arbitration of President Wilson, which gave to this republic the regions of Trebizond, Erzindjān, Mūsh, Bitlis and Van, remained a dead letter, the Turkish government of Mustafa Kemāl having resumed the war, while the Soviet government, on its part, reconquered the Caucasus. After the Turks had entered Karş and then Alexandropol, the Armenian Republic was compelled, on 2 December 1920, to accept the Turkish peace conditions. Turkey retained Karş and Ardahān, annexed the region of İğdir to the southwest of Erivān and demanded that the district of Nakhčawān (Nakhitchevan) be transformed into an autonomous Tatar state. On the same day, the Armenian Republic, within which there had been formed, some time earlier, a pro-Soviet revolutionary committee, changed itself into the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia. The Russo-Turkish treaties of 1921 ratified the cession of Karş and Ardahān, but Turkey abandoned Baštūm to Georgia.

The Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia embraces the territories of Erivān and Lake Sevan, but the Kara-Bagh and Nakhitchevan are attached to the



Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaidjān under the designation of autonomous Region of Nagorny Karabakh (mountainous *Kara-Bagh*) and autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Nakhichevan, while the districts, formerly included in Russian Armenia, of *Akhalkhalaki*, *Akhalkh* (*Akhaltziké*) and Batūm, this latter in the form of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Adjārie, are part of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia. The principal towns in the Republic of Armenia are Erivān, Leninakān (formerly Alexandropol), Kirovakān (the old Elizavetpol) and Alaverdy.

The former Turkish Armenia, which can no longer bear this name, since it is now empty of Armenians as a result of the deportations and massacres of 1915-18, has been increased by the addition of *Ķarş*, *Ardahān* and *Igdır*.

#### Population.

Owing to the invasion of Turkish and Turcoman tribes on the one hand and, on the other, to the advance of the Kurds (in the south) the composition of the population had undergone, ever since the second half of the mediaeval period, a transformation so profound that the Armenians properly so called constituted, over the whole extent of their ancient homeland, no more than a quarter of the total inhabitants. According to the statistics of L. Selenoy and N. Seidlitz (*Petermann's Georg. Mit.*, 1896, i ff.), out of the 3,470,000 people to be found in the provinces of Transcaucasia enumerated above 897,000 (27%) were Armenians; in the purely Armenian districts, out of 2,000,000 inhabitants, the Armenians numbered 760,000 (more than a third). The government of Erivān, however, had a population of which 56% was Armenian. In the whole of Transcaucasia the towns were more strongly peopled by Armenians than the countryside (notably Tiflis: 48%); but, in regard to the total number of inhabitants (4,782,000), the Armenians (960,000) constituted only 20% of the population.

The five *wilāyets* of Turkish Armenia had 2,642,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,828,000 were Muslims, 633,000 were Armenians, and 179,000 were Greeks; in the *sandjak* of Mūsh, however, and also in that of Van the Armenians possessed the numerical superiority (almost twofold).

The total population of Russian and Turkish Armenia, according to the estimates given above, amounted to about 4,642,000, of whom 1,400,000 were Armenians. In Russian Armenia the Caucasian peoples were more numerous, while in Turkish Armenia it was the Kurds, Turks and other racial elements (Greeks, Jews, Gypsies, Circassians, Nestorian Christians to the south-east of Lake Van, nomad Tatar tribes) who had the majority.

In Persian Armenia there were, in 1891, 42,000 Armenians, only half of them to be found in *Ādharbaydjān* (see above concerning *Işfahān*).

Such was the estimate of the Armenian population given by Streck, for a period anterior to 1914, in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. He noted that as a result of massacres and of emigration the number of Armenians on Turkish soil was constantly diminishing. The settlement of Armenians in foreign lands and their dissemination throughout the world had continued, although in varying degree (see above for the emigration into Byzantine territory, and then into Syria and Egypt). Cf. on this subject Ritter, *Erkunde*, x, 594-611; R. Wagner, *Reise nach dem Ararat*, 239-50. The total number of

Armenians living in the Old World amounted to between 2 and 2½ millions.

According to the figures given by Pasdermadjian *Histoire de l'Arménie*, Paris 1949, 444, the total number of Armenians in the world in 1914 was approximately 4,100,000, of whom 2,100,000 lived in the Ottoman empire, 1,700,000 in the Russian empire, 100,000 in Persia and 200,000 in the rest of the world. In Russian Armenia proper they numbered 1,300,000 (including *Ķarş*, Nakhichevan, the *Kara-Bagh* and *Akhalkhalaki*) and, in Turkish Armenia (with Cilicia), 1,400,000. They represented in Russian Armenia the majority of the population, 1,300,000 out of 2,100,000.

Here, on the other hand, are the figures of the Armenian population in the world and in the Soviet Union for 1926 and 1939, according to W. Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion, Natur, Volk und Wirtschaft*, Stuttgart 1950. In 1926 the total number of Armenians in the world amounted to 2,225,000 (the difference from the figure given for 1914 being explained to a certain degree by the losses due to the war, to the massacres and to the sufferings endured during the deportations); of these, two thirds were in the Soviet Union, while one third remained in the Near East (130,000 in Syria, 100,000 in Persia, approximately 100,000 in Turkey, Palestine, Egypt and Greece, with a further 100,000 in America). The Soviet Union held 1,568,000 Armenians, of whom 1,340,000 were in Transcaucasia and 162,000 in Ciscaucasia. Of those to be found in Transcaucasia 744,000 lived in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia (29,900 sq.km.) and constituted there 85% of the total inhabitants (831,290), i.e., the half of the Armenian population of the Soviet Union and one third of the entire Armenian population in the world. 311,000 dwelt in Georgia, 112,000 in the autonomous Region of Nagorny Karabakh (89% of the total population there) and 173,000 in the rest of the Republic of Azerbaidjān.

According to the census of 1939 the Armenians of the Soviet Union numbered 2,152,000; in the Republic of Armenia they were 1,100,000 out of a total population of 1,281,599; they constituted 90% of the total population in the autonomous Region of Nagorny Karabakh, but, in the remainder of the Republic of Azerbaidjān, only 10% of the total population. In Georgia they numbered 450,000. The Armenian population of the Soviet Union, taken as a whole, had increased by 37% between 1926 and 1939.

In Syria and the Lebanon there were in 1914 about 5,000 Armenians; in 1939 they numbered approximately 80,000 in the Lebanon, and more than 100,000 in Syria. In 1939, after the reunion of the *sandjak* of Alexandretta with Turkey, 25,000 Armenians left the country. When, in 1945, the Soviet government issued its appeal to the Armenians, inviting them to return to Soviet Armenia, this invitation concerned, in Syria, about 200,000 Armenians who lived especially at Aleppo and Beirut (Aleppo: 100,000 out of a total of 260,000; Beirut: 50,000 out of 160,000). In Persia, between 1926 and 1939, the Armenian population had risen from 50,000 to 150,000; approximately 93,000 expressed the wish to emigrate to Soviet Armenia and the Armenians of Persia formed a great part of the 60,000 to 100,000 Armenians who, from Syria, the Lebanon, Persia and Egypt, went to Soviet Armenia after this appeal. Of the 27,000 Armenians who dwelt in Greece, 18,000 emigrated to Soviet Armenia in the period down to 1947.

In 1945 (see H. Field, *Contribution to the anthropology of the Caucasus*, Cambridge, Mass. 1953, 5) the population of Soviet Armenia amounted to 1,300,000, with a figure of 200,000 for the capital, Erivān. Today (see P. Rondot, *Les Chrétiens d'Orient*, Paris 1955, 191 and 196) the Republic of Armenia approaches a total of 1,500,000 inhabitants and there are almost as many Armenians in the rest of the Soviet Union. Erivān numbers 300,000 inhabitants and has formulated plans for 450,000. 400,000 to 500,000 Armenians are to be found in the Near East, 100,000 in the countries where 'popular democracy' prevails, 200,000 to 300,000 in North America, 20,000 in France and important nuclei in South America, India, Palestine and Greece.

The Armenian question had been given a definite form. Various Armenian groups in Brazil, the United States, etc. have presented to the U.N.O. demands which seek to bring about the restoration to the Armenians of the former Turkish Armenia with the frontiers fixed by President Wilson and the Armenian question continues to be an obstacle to the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey.

#### Commerce.

As a land of transit between the Pontus and Mesopotamia and as a frontier territory between Byzantium and the Muslim empire, Armenia played an important economic rôle in the mediaeval period. The numerous merchants and the caravans that crossed it contributed to the development of a native industry which was favoured, like the flow of commerce, by the richness of the country in natural products. The commercial importance of Armenia arose also from the existence of numerous transit routes which cut across the land and of which the Arab geographers have described the most important. The Arabs attached to the support which these routes furnished to their military interests a greater weight than to their commercial usefulness. For this reason they linked together the principal routes at Dabīl, the bulwark of the Arab domination. The maintenance and security of the routes was a duty which fell to the Muslim governor. Even today Erzerūm, a point of junction for all the great routes, is a place of high strategic importance and, as it were, the key to Asia Minor.

Armenia communicated with Byzantium through Trebizond (Tarābazanda), the main entrepôt for Byzantine merchandise (above all, precious materials). The great fairs held there several times a year were visited by merchants from the entire Muslim world; the traffic ran ordinarily from Trebizond to Dabīl and Kālīkalā (Erzerūm). In Persia, Rayy was the most important market for the Armenian merchants (see Ibn al-Faḳīh, ed. De Goeje, 270); they were also in direct business relations with Baghdād (see al-Ya'kūbī, *Buldān*, 237).

#### Natural Products and Industry.

Armenia was considered to be one of the most fertile provinces of the Caliphate. It produced so great a yield of cereals that some of it was exported abroad, e.g., to Baghdād (see al-Ṭabarī, iii, 272, 275). The lakes and rivers, which were full of fish, also favoured the export trade; Lake Van provided enormous quantities of a certain kind of herring (Ar. *fīrriḳh*) which, from mediaeval times, was sent out in salted form even to the Indies (according to al-Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 352). This salted fish is encountered even today as a food much sought after

throughout the whole of Armenia, Ādharbaydjān, the Caucasus and Asia Minor.

Armenia is rich, above all, in minerals; copper, silver, lead, iron, arsenic, alum, mercury and sulphur are especially to be found there; gold, too, is not lacking. Very little is known concerning the exploitation of these products by the Arabs; the only Arab author who has furnished us with information on the natural products of Armenia is Ibn al-Faḳīh. According to the Armenian writer Leontius, silver mines were discovered at the close of the 8th century A.D.; these mines correspond no doubt to the silver (and lead) mines which are exploited at Gümüşh-Khāne (now Gümüşhane) = House of Silver, halfway between Trebizond and Erzerūm (see, on this subject, Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 272 and Wagner, *Reise nach Persien*, i, 172 ff. and cf. also the article GÖMÜSH-KHĀNE). There were important mines, too, at Bayburt and Arghana [qq.v.]. The great and ancient copper mine of Kedabeg with its offshoot at Kalakent (between Elizavetpol-Gangja and the lake of Gökçay) had been much developed before 1914 (see Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, i, 122 ff.). Today there are important copper foundries at Alaverdy, Zangezur and Erivān. It was, however, the salt mines which, in the past, were the richest in Armenia, their products being exported to Syria and Egypt. The salt beds mentioned by the mediaeval authors were probably to the north-east of Lake Van; there was also an extensive salt-bearing deposit at Kulp to the south of the Upper Araxes and east of Keghizman (see Ritter, *op. cit.*, x, 270 ff. and Radde, *Vier Vorträge über den Kaukasus*, 47). Erivān today is an industrial town with workshops for the building of machinery and factories for preserves, tobacco, synthetic rubber, etc.

The industries for which Armenia was most renowned during the mediaeval period were weaving, dyeing and embroidery. Dabīl was the centre of this industrial activity; magnificent woollen cloths were made there, carpets and heavy materials of silk decorated with flowers and multi-coloured (Ar. *buziūn*) which were also sold abroad. The *ķirmiz*, a kind of purple-bearing worm, was used for dyeing. Armenian carpets were long considered to be of the finest workmanship. Ardashāt (Artaxata), some kilometres from Dabīl, was so famous for its dye-works that al-Balādhuri calls it "the town of the kermes" (*karyat al-ķirmiz*) (ed. De Goeje, 200; cf. *Zeitschr. für arm. Philol.*, ii, 67 and 217). See in particular, on the commerce and industry of Armenia in the mediaeval period, Thopdschian in the *Mitt. des Sem. für orient. Sprache*, 1904, ii, 142-53. On the carpets, see Armeniag Sakisian, *Les tapis à dragons et leur origine arménienne*, in *Syria*, ix (1928) and, by the same author, *Les tapis arméniens*, in *Revue des Ét. arm.*, i/2 (1920). On Armenian textiles in general, see R. B. Serjeant, *Material for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest*, in *Ars Islamica*, x (1943), 91 ff.

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(M. CANARD)

**ARMS** [see *SILĀH*].

**ARMY** [see *DIJAYSH*, *LASHKAR*, *ORDU* etc.].

**ARNAWUTLUK**, the Ottoman Turkish name for ALBANIA.

1.—Language. Allegedly descended from Pelasgian, Albanian is an Indo-European language of "satem" type like Armenian, Indo-Iranian and Slavonic. No literary records occur before 1496 A.D., but ancient Illyrian and ancient Epirote, on the basis of personal and place names, are held to be the prototypes of Geg (northern) and Tosk (southern) Albanian respectively. Illyrian *mantua*, *mantia*, "bramble", and *grōssa*, "file", are Albanian *mand*, *manzë* and *grresë* respectively. Macedonian, Thracian and Dacian were languages of Albanian type.

Known as *shqip* in Albania, *arbëresh* in the Albanian colonies, the Albanian language is spoken by some 1,500,000 in Albania, 700,000 in the adjoining Kosovo-Metohija area of Yugoslavia, and some 40,000 in Epirus. An archaic form of the language survives on the Greek islands of Hydra and Spetsa, and in Sicily and Calabria, brought there by Tosk exiled from the Turkish invasions. Impoverished by centuries of neglect, Albanian has a small native, but a large borrowed vocabulary. Thus the wheel, the cart and the plough are represented by borrowings and the usual Indo-European terms of kinship are absent. City life, road-building, horticulture, law, religion and family relationship are expressed by Latin loanwords, much disguised by phonological breakdown. Terms used in the Orthodox ritual are Greek; names of prepared dishes, garments, parts of the house, and Islamic terms have come in via Turkish.

The composite alphabet is: *a, b, c* (like *ts*), *ç* (like *ch*), *d, dh* (like *th* in *this*), *e, ë* (like French *e* in *le*), *f, g, gj* (like Turkish *g* before *e, i, ö*), *h, i, j* (like *y* in *yoke*), *k, l* (as in French), *ll* (as in English *all*), *m, n, nj* (as in *canon*), *o, p, q* (like Turkish *k* before *e, i, ö*), *r* (weak), *rr* (strong trill), *s, sh* (as in *shop*), *t, th* (as in *thin*), *u, v, x* (as in *adze*), *zh* (as in *judge*), *y* (German *ü*), *z, zh* (as in *pleasure*). The vowels *â, ê, î* are Geg nasals.

Geg is the dialect of Tiranë, the capital, and the North, including Kosovo-Metohija. Tosk has a considerable literature. Its main deviations are: replacement of the infinitive by subjunctive constructions, absence of nasal vowels, occasional conversion of *n* to *r*, and representation of *ue, uem* as *ua, uar*. There are small differences of vocabulary.

The noun has three genders and five cases. A noun is linked to a following genitive or adjective by an inflected particle, thus *mali i veriut*, "the mountain of the north", *mali i bukur* "the beautiful mountain", in which *-i* of *mal-i* is the detachable masc. definite article. Similarly *molla*, f. "the apple", but *mollë* "apple". The verb possesses an imperfect, aorist, subjunctive, optative imperative, a mediopassive, and a compound mood called the admirative.

2.—Literature. From the third century A.D. the Roman Church has maintained a bishopric at Scutari in N. Albania. This became the first cultural centre; evidence of this is Bishop John Buzuk's Liturgy of 1555, and the 17th century religious works of Budi, Bardhi and Bogdani. Literary activity, tolerated by the Turks in the Catholic

North, was suppressed in the Muslim centre and the Orthodox South, but took root among the exile colonies of Sicily and Calabria. Matranga, descendant of the exiles, began a tradition of hymn-writing using folk-rhythms (1592), which was continued by Brancato (1675-1741) and the Calabrian Variboba (born 1725). The movement became secular with the folksongs and rhapsodies of De Rada (1813-1903), an ardent spokesman of Albanian liberation, and was continued well into the present century by Zef Schirò (1865-1927), Sicilian-born author of two allegorical epics and a collector of folksongs.

The work of de Rada was helpful in inspiring three Tosk patriots, the brothers Abdyl, Sami and Naim Frashëri, to form a league at Prizrend in 1878. Under the stimulus of the San Stefano settlement they sought Albanian autonomy and literary freedom. After several years of activity in Istanbul, where they were joined by the lexicographer and Bible translator Kristoforidhi (1827-1895), they were forced into exile. At Bucharest Abdyl the politician, Sami the educationist, and Naim, the Bektashi lyricist of Albanian nostalgia, formed a literary society and printed Albanian books from 1885 onward. Thimi Mitko and Spiro Dine, exiles in Egypt, collected folksongs from the local colony. In Sofia Mîdhat Frashëri, son of Abdyl, published an almanach, an anthology and a journal, and wrote didactic essays and short stories with a moral. Books printed in exile were smuggled into Albania by caravan.

The absence of a literary centre, and the want of a standard alphabet, hampered the movement, and Sami's difficult phonetic spelling was replaced by a digraphic one resembling that of A. Santori of Calabria and the linguist Dh. Camarda (1821-1882) of Sicily. After independence in November 1912 the various literary currents combined. A. Drenova (born 1872), the Tosk lyricist, Bubani, and L. Poradeci (born 1899) continued the Bucharest tradition, the last in an unorthodox style of his own; the Catholic North was represented by the nostalgic F. Shiroka (1847-1917), the linguist and historian A. Xanoni (1863-1915), N. Mjeda (1866-1937), the satirist Gj. Fishta (1871-1940), the folk-poet and elegist V. Prennushi (1885-1946), and the short-story writer E. Koliqi (born 1903). Foqion Postoli, and M. Grameno (1872-1931), the Tosk novelists, Kristo Floqi (born 1873), the dramatist, and F. Konitza (1875-1943) transferred their activity to Boston, U.S.A., where a literary society Vatra, and a journal Dielli ("The Sun") were founded in 1912.

The brief fascist regime (1939-1943) attracted a few writers with pro-Italian leanings; the present communist regime encourages writing on the partisan movement, the class struggle, work themes and peace. Textbooks are based on Russian models. There are three active theatres and a writers' union. This activity is paralleled in Kosovo-Metohija, where the communist themes are Titoist.

3.—Geography. Albania (Shqipëri, Shqipëri) lies on a N-S axis 20° E of Greenwich. With a total area of 11,097 square miles (28,748 sq. km.) it is bounded by Yugoslavia, Greece and the Adriatic. Lying between N Latitudes 39° 38' and 40° 41', its total length is 207 miles. It narrows to 50 miles at Peshkopi, and widens to 90 miles at the lake of Little Presba. Its ten prefectures formerly had 39 subprefectures, now redrawn and renamed as 34 districts. Continuing the limestone formation of the Dinaric Alps, the terrain is highest in the E, reaching some 7,000 feet in places. Of the western lowlands, some below sea-

## THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE PAULICIAN AND T'ONDRAKIAN HERESIES

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From Byzantine sources alone a coherent, but sadly incomplete, picture of Paulician geography in Asia Minor emerges. From the middle of the seventh century until the Fall of Tephrikē to the imperial armies in the reign of Basil I the heresy was mainly a phenomenon of the eastern frontier lands. In the time of Constans II the first of the series of heresiarchs, Constantine, who took the Pauline name Silvanus, came from Mananalis (Arm: Mananati) in Armenia to Kibossa, an unidentified place near the kastron of Koloneia.<sup>1</sup> The successor of Constantine-Silvanus, Symeon-Titos, also taught at Kibossa.<sup>2</sup> Later there were Paulicians at a place called Episparis, somewhere between Kibossa and Mananalis.<sup>3</sup> From there some of them were led by their teacher Gegnesios-Timothy, the son of an Armenian called Paul, back to Mananalis. In Mananalis Gegnesios died of plague;<sup>4</sup> almost certainly this was the great plague of 748.<sup>5</sup>

In the next generation Zacharias, the son of Gegnesios, was killed by Arab frontier-guards, with his followers, while attempting to cross back into East Roman territory. His rival Joseph, who took the Pauline name Epaphroditos, was more fortunate: he turned his party's wagons round and persuaded the Arab interceptors that he and his followers were on the way to Syria for pasturage and to make milk.<sup>6</sup> Thus some of the Paulicians were transhumant pastoralists; for such persons, it was natural to move frequently to the highland meadows in summer and, if need be, through No-Man's-land to the Arab or Byzantine territories. Joseph-Epaphroditos, having been left alone by the Arab guards, slipped across with his followers to Episparis. We

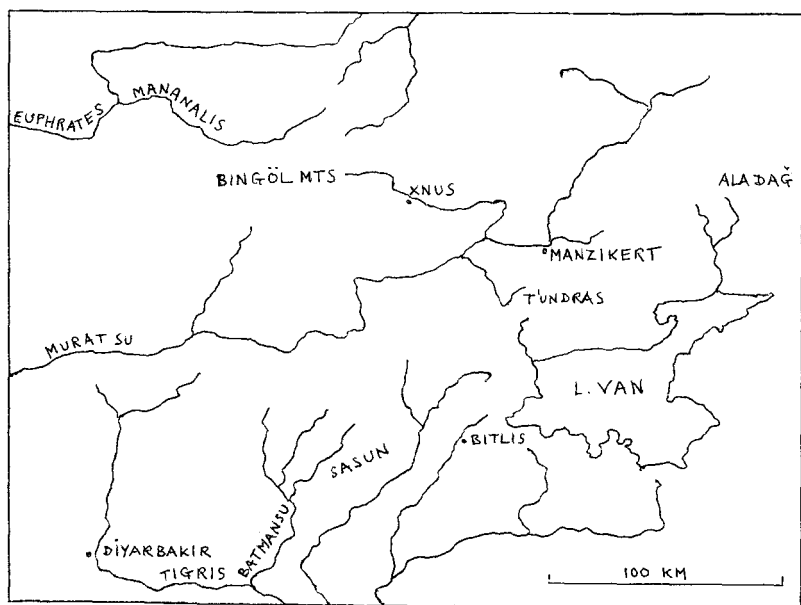
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T. Samuelian & M. Stone, eds. Medieval Armenian Culture. (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 6). Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983. pp. 81 to 95.

hear that a successor of Joseph, the Paulician leader Sergios-Tychikos, who was an energetic missionary, also spent some time in Pontus, that is, in the Armeniak thema. Later he and his disciples settled at Argoun within the domain of the Emir of Melitene.<sup>7</sup> Not long after his death there, Argoun became a redoubt of Paulician soldiers who had escaped about 844 from persecution under the empress Theodora.<sup>8</sup> From Argoun the Paulicians under their military leader Karbeas moved to Tephrikē, which became the base of their distant and devastating attacks on Byzantine territory. The raids continued under the successor of Karbeas, Chrysocheir, until his death in the battle with the Byzantines at Bathyrhyax in 872.<sup>9</sup> When Tephrikē fell to the Byzantines six years later, some of the surviving Paulicians may well have fled to Mananalis, but the Greek sources are not explicit.

What they do make clear is the strong Armenian connection of the heresy. Constantine from Mananalis is said to have been an Armenian; Paul and his son Gegnesios were Armenians; and one of the leaders of the heretics Baanes, a contemporary and rival of Sergios-Tychikos, reveals by his name (Vahan) his Armenian origins. The close ties of the heresy with Pontus fit the Armenian connection well; for many Armenian troops were among the forces withdrawn from Armenia during the Arab invasion in the mid-seventh century, and they were stationed in Pontus and other parts of northeastern Asia Minor to form the new Armeniak thema. In Asia Minor the connections of the heresy were military as well as pastoral: the great Paulician leader Karbeas himself had been a protomandator in the imperial army.<sup>10</sup> Wise emperors had valued the fighting qualities of the Paulicians instead of alienating them; Constantine V had transferred Paulicians from Melitene and Theodosiopolis (Karin or Erzerum) to defend Thrace,<sup>11</sup> but when the heretics under Karbeas allied themselves with Omar of Melitene they provided a formidable threat to the security of Byzantine Asia Minor.

The historical outlines given in the Byzantine sources become much more complicated when an attempt is made to combine them with the Armenian evidence. First, there is a theological problem about the character of the heresy: in Peter of Sicily it is presented as being both dualist and docetic, but in Armenia, if the eighteenth-century text called the Key of Truth is, as Conybeare<sup>12</sup> and, more recently, Garsoian<sup>13</sup> have supposed, a witness to medieval Paulicianism in Armenia, the Paulicians, and the T'ondrakians, with whom it is customary to link them, were Adoptionists. There is, secondly, a chronological problem about the date when Paulicianism



Paulician and T'ondrakian Heresies

arose as a definable and distinct heresy in Armenia. Finally, and this is our main concern here, there is the fact that the only territory agreed to be a home of heresy by the Greek and Armenian sources is Mananalis. Even here we face a problem, because the main account of heresy in Mananalis in Armenia comes from Aristakēs Lastivertc'i,<sup>14</sup> who wrote soon after 1072, some two centuries after the fall of Tephrikē and three centuries after the escape of Joseph-Epaphroditos from Mananalis to Episparis. Thus it is by no means certain that the heretics who were there in the eighth century were akin by ancestry or in doctrine to the eleventh-century T'ondrakian heretics of Mananalis described by Aristakēs. However, though continuity in Mananalis is not documented, it is clear that the district was for a long time a nurse of heresy.

There has been disagreement about the geographical position of Mananalis. The difficulty begins with Peter of Sicily in his report on his visit to Tephrikē on behalf of the emperor Basil I. He stated that Constantine-Silvanus was born in Samosatōn of Armenia, in a village called Mananalis.<sup>15</sup> Samosata beside the Euphrates in Commagene is not in Armenia and can have nothing to do with Mananalis. Peter's statement about the origin of the heresy is due to a confused attempt to link the Paulicians with the Paulinists, sectaries who followed Paul of Samosata. The connection between Samosata and Constantine-Silvanus can be rejected; it rests on a theological mistake. Accordingly there is no need to suppose a confusion between Samosata and Arsamosata (Arabic *Šimšat*), a city beside the Arsanias or Murad Su branch of the upper Euphrates in Armenia.<sup>16</sup> Conybeare<sup>17</sup> thought that Mananalis was a district around Xnus in the valley of the Kinis Çay, a southeasterly-flowing feeder of the Arsanias. This is the canton from which Armenian sectaries brought the Key of Truth when they came to settle at Akhaltzik in Tsarist Armenia in 1828. It is true that Gregory Magistros, who died in 1058, in his letter to the heretics called T'ulaili (who were a branch of the T'ondrakec'i) connects Xnus with their heresy: Xnus he wrote, "recalls a hole stopped up in which the deepest darkness reigns."<sup>18</sup> It is also true that downstream from Xnus lies the district of Hark' in Turuberan, where there were also T'ondrakians according to Aristakēs of Lastivert.<sup>19</sup> So we can be sure that there were T'ondrakians settled in and near Xnus in the eleventh century; it may even be true that those who were still clinging to heresy in the same canton in the early nineteenth century were descendents of them. But the source of Byzantine Paulicianism cannot have been at Xnus, because

Mananalis lay elsewhere. This can be seen in the account of the T'ondrakians in Aristakēs Lastivertc'i.

Aristakes shows that there were T'ondrakians living beside a river, which he calls Mananali,<sup>20</sup> not far from its confluence with the Euphrates. On the other side of the Euphrates, near the confluence, was the awan called Kot'ēr. This awan adjoined the province of Ekeṭeac', whose position is known: it extended along the upper Euphrates from east to west on either side of modern Erzincan. Ekeṭeac' (Akisilene) reached eastward to the confluence of the Euphrates with its left-bank tributary the Tuzla Suyu, a river that rises in the Bingöl mountains some fifty miles to the east of the meeting of the waters. Thus, as Juzbašjan<sup>21</sup> and others have argued, the Mananali river is the Tuzla Suyu; the river gave its name to the district where the Paulician Constantine-Silvanus was born. Here too the heresiarch of the Paulicians Gegnesios-Timothy settled for a time before dying of plague. Hence also Joseph-Epaphroditos escaped back with his followers and herds to Episparris in East Roman territory. Hereabouts too lived in the lifetime of Aristakēs the local magnates the ladies Axni and Kamara, who were hereditary possessors of two villages. They were joined in their T'ondrakianism by the iṣṣan Vrver, another magnate of Mananali.<sup>22</sup> The spreading of the heresy among the gentry explains why, possibly in the time of John Tzimiskes, the Byzantine authorities had set up a bishopric of Mananalis subordinate to Trebizond.<sup>23</sup> It must have been a lonely posting for a Chalcedonian.

The principal fort in Mananalis was Smbat on Smbatay (berd), a mountain of the same name. According to Aristakes the fort was used as a place of refuge during the early Seljuk incursions;<sup>24</sup> indeed it is likely to have been the main redoubt of the T'ondrakians of Mananali. We do not know who the eponymous Smbat was; but there is a possibility that he too was a T'ondrakian heretic. For a prominent ninth-century leader of the T'ondrakians was called Smbat.

About 987 Grigor Narekac'i wrote a letter to the convent of Kčaw about the doctrine of the T'ondrakians 'lanes' and 'lamres.' In the epistle it said that Smbat declared communion bread to be ordinary bread; Grigor also states that Smbat allowed himself to be worshipped by his disciples.<sup>25</sup> But the text provides no chronological evidence. A date for Smbat is given by Grigor Magistros, who in his letter concerning the T'ulaili remarked that during 170 years, equivalent to thirteen patriarchates, the heretics had



flourished since the time of Smbat.<sup>26</sup> In another letter Grigor, an active persecutor of the T'ondrakians, wrote that they had infested the land for more than two hundred years.<sup>27</sup> Since Grigor was writing in the middle of the eleventh century, he dates Smbat in the middle of the ninth.

According to Grigor Magistros, Smbat came forth from the village of Zarehavan in the district of Caḡkotn.<sup>28</sup> This is a territory on the northerly slopes of the Ala Dağ (Niphates, Npat) to the northeast of Lake Van.<sup>29</sup> From Zarehavan he moved to T'ondrak and began to teach there. The position of T'ontraks, or T'ondrak, which gave its name to the heresy, is known: it lay some three hours to the south of Manzikert and was later called T'undras. The identification was made long ago by the geographer Inčičian.<sup>30</sup> It is supported by a detail in Grigor Narekac'i, to which A. G. Ioannisjan drew attention in an article in the Soviet periodical *Voprosy Istorii*.<sup>31</sup>

Grigor admonished the Abbot and monks of the convent of Kčaw by writing that they desired to share the lot of those who had been cut off by the sword of the avenging heathen emir Aplvard. The emir is Abu'l Bard I, the Muslim ruler of Manzikert in the middle of the ninth century, who according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus had received from Ašot the Great Prince of Princes (r. 862 to 890) the gift of Xliat, Arzes and Perkri.<sup>32</sup> It is likely that the gift was a reward for support in suppression of the heretics in T'ontraks, since the temptation to ally with them, as Omar of Melitene had done with the Paulicians of Argaoun, would have been strong. Instead Aplvard massacred them. It is not clear from Grigor Narekac'i whether Smbat died in the massacre; possibly he escaped to Mananalis to join the heretics there and to give his name to the fortress at Smbatay berd.

But these matters remain obscure; what is clear is that Ioannisjan's identification of Aplvard fits the dating of Smbat to the mid-ninth century and the fixing of the home of the T'ondrakians to the country between Manzikert and Lake Van, in remote terrain near the watershed where northward flowing feeders of the Arsianias rise. After the massacre some of the heretics survived there or were able to come back later; for Grigor Magistros states that after he had put down T'ondrakian heresy in "Mesopotamia"<sup>33</sup> (that is, the Byzantine *thema*, formerly an Armenian principality, between the Arsianias and the Çimişgezек-su),<sup>34</sup> he went up to the "well-head, in which the viper and scorpion and dragon of wickedness had nestled. I demolished it, as my ancestors did Aštišat. Then I named the village after the chapel of St. George, which had been taken possession of by

the hound Smbat."<sup>35</sup> However, not even the violence of Grigor Magistros could wipe out all trace of the T'ondrakians there, because, as we have seen, a form of the name T'ontraks or T'ondrak survived until the nineteenth century. The very name of the heretics was a constant reminder elsewhere of the geographical origin of their doctrine and of their leader Smbat. Grigor's claim that his ancestors destroyed Aštišat should not be taken as evidence that there had once been Paulicians or similar heretics at that place; he may simply be asserting that his ancestors assisted in the overthrow of pagan cults (such as that of Aštē or Astarte)<sup>36</sup> there, when Christianity was being established in Armenia.

If Smbat initiated heresy at T'ondrak, then we should not expect to find the term T'ondrakec'i applied to heretics of any description in Armenia before the mid-ninth century. The name Paulikianoī or Polikeank' is encountered much earlier: we have already followed Constantine-Silvanus in the Byzantine sources from Mananalis to Kibossa near Koloneia in Pontus, in the third quarter of the seventh century. In Armenian texts too there is proof of the presence of Paulicians in Armenia (whether or not they may have been dualists or docetists or adoptionists) before the mid-ninth century. The reference to Polikean in the fifth-century Call to Repentance of the Catholicos Yovhannēs I Mandakuni may be an interpolation; so it is best left aside. Slightly less dubious, though not much can be inferred from the text, is the reference to Paulicians in connection with 'Nestorians' in the Oath of Union imposed at the Council of Dvin assembled by the Catholicos Nersēs II in 555. Here the laity are said, among both 'Nestorians' and Paulicians, to have brought bread to their teachers in order to receive communion.<sup>37</sup>

We are on firmer ground when we come to the Catholicos Yovhannēs Ōjneg'i, who about 719 summoned another Council to Dvin. Canon 32 of the synod is aimed at the Paulicians, and in his sermon against the same sectaries Yovhannes declares that they had already been rebuked by Catholicos Nersēs. After the death of Nersēs they had fled into hiding somewhere in 'our land' and they were joined by certain Iconoclasts who had been reproved by the Catholicoi of the Albanians.<sup>38</sup> Scholars have differed over the identity of the Nersēs mentioned here by Ōjneg'i. The neatest explanation is that he is Nersēs III (641-661), the Builder;<sup>39</sup> for he was a contemporary of the Emperor Constans II. The persecution of Paulicians by Nersēs would account for the move of Constantine-Silvanus into Pontus from Mananalis, which was then being settled by refugees from Armenia and was, therefore, from the point

of view of Nerses III "somewhere in our land." Thus the Armenian and Greek sources agree in taking the origins of the Paulician heresy back at least as far as the mid-seventh century; it is significant that even then the heresy appears as a phenomenon of the frontier.

Evidence exists that there were heretics called Polikeank' in the highlands rising to the southwest of Lake Van on the southern limits of Armenia. In the Catalogue of Heresies in Matenadaran manuscript No. 3681 of 1313, and in the later manuscript No. 687,<sup>40</sup> Heresy No. 153 is that of the K'alert'akan 'the bloodthirsty.' Here we are told that a certain king of the Greeks chanced on the filthy sect of the Pōlikeank' and was not able to turn them from their heresy. "He pursued them beyond the mountains of Caucasus." In the same Catalogue Heresy No. 154 refers to a woman named Šet'i, who is said in the earlier text to be an Arab, in the later to be a Turk. She came to the Armenians and was seduced by a certain Pōl, who is said to have come from Ayrarat and to have been a disciple of St. Ephrem. The significance of the names K'alert'akan and Šet'i has been admirably clarified by R. M. Bartikyan.<sup>41</sup> The river K'atirt is now the Batman Suyu, a left bank tributary of the Tigris. By the Greeks it was called the Nymphios. It rises to the west of Lake Van and flows in a southerly direction between Arzanene (Arcn) on the east and Martyropolis (Np'rkert) on the west. Today travellers from Diyarbekir to Bitlis can still admire the fine Ortakid bridge across the Batman Su close to the point where the river leaves the mountains of Sasun.

Bartikyan corrected Šet'i to Sidma and Sit'it'ma, the Arabic names of the Batman Suyu.<sup>42</sup> He also adduced a passage of the Geography of Pseudo-Movsēs Xorenac'i in confirmation of the link between Paulicians and the country through which the Batman river runs: "The Kałirt, which comes out of the mountains of Salin and Sanasun (or Sasun), separates Np'kert and K'kimar; therefore it separates the Romans and the Persians and it is now called Sit'it'ma which is bloodthirsty."<sup>43</sup> The Kałirt river cannot have formed the East Roman frontier at any time between the reign of Heraclius and the tenth century. The political circumstances envisaged by the Geography antedate 641. In the vague reference in the Catalogue of Heresies to the Greek emperor driving the heretics 'beyond the Caucasus' there may be a recollection of heretics being driven out of Byzantine territory from the district of Sanasun, but the "king of the Greeks" is not named. In Georgios Kyprios the people of Sanasun are the Sanasounitai;<sup>44</sup> they were akin to the Chothaitai on the other side of the Tauros range. The same Chothaitai are

also found in T'ovmay Arcruni.<sup>45</sup> He describes them as remote mountaineers who had lost the use of their mother-tongue; they lived in the mountains separating Tarōn from Aljnik' and were called adventurers and Xout' owing to their strange language (possibly they had originally not spoken Armenian; T'ovmay thought of them as Assyrian immigrants). Their mountain was called Xoit'. They recited psalms translated by the ancient Armenian translators. They were, declared T'ovmay, Assyrian peasants whose ancestors had come with Adrametek and Sanasar,<sup>46</sup> and they called themselves Sanasnaik.

The district of Sanasun was of great interest to Thomas because the Arcruni family claimed descent from Sennacherib, whose sons fled to Armenia. Moreover the family appropriated the name Senekerim. The mountaineers of Xoyt' may well have been, together with those of Sanasun to the south of the watershed, nominal dependants of the Arcruni in lands claimed by the family. For among the territories alleged to have been given by Senekerim of Vaspurakan to the Byzantine empire are mentioned the mountains of Sasun and Ĵulamerk<sup>47</sup> (Sasun is the later form of the name Sanasun). The psalm-reciting Sanasnaik can be regarded as a branch of the Paulicians of Heresy No. 153, but living on the other side of the mountains. Both groups could threaten the passes or kleisourai through which the roads linking Tarōn with Arcn (Arzanene) ran. Here is the mountain range called Šim by the Armenians, and here occurred some of the most terrible massacres of Armenians in 1894.<sup>48</sup>

The Paulicians of Sanasun and Xoyt' were well placed to ally themselves with the Arabs, as were those of Argoun and Tephrikē. That they took advantage of their strategic position near the kleisourai to the southwest of Lake Van is suggested in two remarks by Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i. He stated that Paulicians had an alliance with the "circumcised tyrants," that is, the Arabs.<sup>49</sup> He also said that they had spread out from their original home in the district of Ĵrkay.<sup>50</sup> According to the geographer Inčičian Ĵrkay was the neighborhood of the Bitlis river,<sup>51</sup> a southward-flowing tributary of the Tigris forming the main pass next to the valley of the Batman Suyu. Here the road still passes by way of Bitlis to Tatvan; this was the Kleisoura Balaleisōn of the Greeks and the Dharb Badlīs of the Arabs.<sup>52</sup> Inčičian's identification of Ĵrkay can be combined with Bartikian's explanation of the Paulician K'alert'akan to show that there had been at certain times Paulicians based in the country extending from the Batman river to the Bitlis

river. They are likely to have persisted in these remote highlands for a long time, reciting their old Armenian psalms and uttering their strange speech.

Aristakēs provides evidence for the wide extension of the Paulician and T'ondrakian heresies in the eleventh century in his account of the career of Jacob, who had been a bishop in Hark'.<sup>53</sup> In the time of Catholicos Sargis Sevanc'i (992-1019) he was deprived of office because he had turned T'ondrakian. Having escaped from prison he went to Constantinople, and he later returned to Armenia to settle at T'ondrak. But he was not acceptable to the T'ondrakians of T'ondrak; so he joined the heretics among the remote peasantry in the highlands of Xliat to the northwest of Lake Van. His last days were spent at Muharkin (Martyropolis or Np'rkert), where he would have been within reach of, or among, the Paulicians of Sanasun and the Batman Suyu valley. The heretical career of Jacob links T'ondrakians with Paulicians: Hark' is adjacent to Xnus; T'ondrak is an eponymous center of heresy; and Np'rkert is within the domain of the K'āert'akan. A generation earlier the T'ondrakian heresy had been present at Kčaw in the province of Mokk', to the northwest of Bitlis. Here, as the letter by Grigor Narekac'i shows, even the monks had become infected with unorthodox doctrine. At Kčaw the monks were living not far from the heretics of Xoyt' and may well have been affected by them.

Apart from the wide distribution of the heresies in Armenia and beyond, two geographical factors should be emphasized in conclusion. The first is the mobility of the heretics. It was not only the teachers and heresiarchs who travelled far; their flocks migrated too. Nor in the high country of Armenia and Pontus is such mobility strange. Many of the heretics belonged to the pastoral population of the countryside. They were used to transhumant movement to new grazing grounds and to seasonal changes of abode. Secondly, there is the factor of persistence in the heresies.<sup>54</sup> Part of the explanation for the continuity of heretical belief is to be found in the cantonal character of the Armenian terrain. The life of a remote mountain canton can become historically fossilized: armies may pass by at the foot of the valley; proponents of centralized orthodoxies may never penetrate into harsh and unwelcoming gorges leading to a plateau where shepherds live. There was heresy in Mananalis in the seventh century and in the eleventh. There was heresy in the valley of Xnus in the eleventh and still heresy (though not necessarily the very same one) in Xnus in the late eighteenth century. Thus the doctrines of the Key of Truth, when considered

in the light of historical geography, are likely to be much more ancient than the time (1782) when the text as we have it was written; but how much more ancient is mainly a question of theology and philology, not of historical geography.<sup>55</sup>

## NOTES

Shortened references to the following works will be found:

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|----------------|--|
| Conybeare      | Fred. C. Conybeare, <u>The Key of Truth. A Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia</u> (Oxford, 1898).   |
| Garsoïan       | Nina G. Garsoïan, <u>The Paulician Heresy</u> (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1967).   |
| Hübschmann     | Heinrich Hübschmann, <u>Die Altarmenischen Ortsnamen</u> (Amsterdam 1969, reprinted from <u>Indogermanische Forschungen</u> 16 (1904) 197-490).  |
| Lemerle        | 'L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques,' <u>Travaux et Mémoires</u> 5 (Paris, 1973) 1-142, reprinted in <u>Essais sur le monde byzantin</u> (London, 1980).              |
| Markwart       | Jos. Markwart, <u>Sudarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und arabischen Geographen</u> (Vienna, 1930).  |
| <u>Sources</u> | Ch. Astruc, W. Conus-Wolska, J. Goillard, P. Lemerle, D. Papachryssanthou, J. Paramele, "Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure," <u>Travaux et Mémoires</u> 4 (1970) 1-227. |

<sup>1</sup>Peter of Sicily, History, 94, 101. (Sources, pp. 41, 43.)

<sup>2</sup>Peter of Sicily, History, 107. (Sources, p. 45.)

<sup>3</sup>Peter of Sicily, History, 112, 121, 127. (Sources, pp. 47, 49, 51.) For a likely position of Episparis (near the Upper Euphrates in the frontier zone)

see Lemerle, 78.

<sup>4</sup>Peter of Sicily, History, 121-122. (Sources, p. 49.)

<sup>5</sup>See Lemerle, 65, note 43 on Theophanes 1.422-424 (ed. de Boor, repr. Olms: Hildesheim, 1963).

<sup>6</sup>Peter of Sicily, History, 125-126. (Sources pp. 49, 51.)

<sup>7</sup>Peter of Sicily, History, 177-179. (Sources, p. 65.)

<sup>8</sup>For the chronology see Lemerle, 88-90.

<sup>9</sup>Lemerle, 92-103.

<sup>10</sup>Theophanes Continuatus 4.16, p. 166 (ed. I. Bekker; Bonn: Weber, 1838).

<sup>11</sup>Theophanes 1.429, 19-22 (ed. de Boor).

<sup>12</sup>Conybeare, xxxv, lxxvii.

<sup>13</sup>Garsoïan, 211-213.

<sup>14</sup>Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, Patmutiwn, 119-133. [pp. 118-127 in K. N. Jusbašjan, (ed. & trans.), Moscow: Nauka, 1968; pp. 108-120 in M. Canard and H. Bérbérian, (ed. & trans. of Jusbašjan) Bibliothèque de Byzantion No. 5; Brussels, 1973].

<sup>15</sup>Peter of Sicily, History, 94. (Sources, p. 41.)

<sup>16</sup>Concerning Arsamosata see now Anthony Bryer in A. Bryer and Judith Herrin (eds.) Iconoclasm (Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine Studies, 1977) 84.

<sup>17</sup>Conybeare, lxxix.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 142. For a description of the plain of Khinis see H. F. B. Lynch, Armenia. Travels and Studies (London, 1901) 2.255-258; also 184 & 187 for sheep-fairs held there.

<sup>19</sup>Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, 119.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 130.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 170. See also Bryer, Iconoclasm, 83.

<sup>22</sup>Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, 119.

<sup>23</sup>Jean Darrouzès, Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinop-



olitanae (Paris, 1981) No. 424, p. 303.

<sup>24</sup>Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, 66, 71.

<sup>25</sup>Conybeare, 126, 128. Cf. Garsoïan, p. 143, n. 137.

<sup>26</sup>Conybeare, 142-143 and 145.

<sup>27</sup>Conybeare, 151.

<sup>28</sup>Conybeare, 144. Garsoïan, 141.

<sup>29</sup>Hübschmann, 361 and 363.

<sup>30</sup>See Ł. Inčičian, Storagrut'iwn Hin Hayastani (Venice, 1822), 130; Hübschmann, 330.

<sup>31</sup>A. G. Ioannisjan, "Dviženie Tondrakov v Armenii IX-XI vv.," Voprosy Istorii 10 (1954) 10:103. See also R. M. Bartikyan, Konstantin Ciranacin (Erevan, 1970) 225, n. 17.

<sup>32</sup>De Administrando Imperio 44, 17-21 (ed. Moravcsik and Jenkins). Concerning the Ašot's diplomacy toward the Arabs see S. Runciman in De Administrando Imperio 2 Commentary (London, 1962) 158, 169-70.

<sup>33</sup>Conybeare, 146.

<sup>34</sup>Nicolas Oikonomidēs, Les Listes de Préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe Siècles (Paris, 1972) 349.

<sup>35</sup>Conybeare, 143.

<sup>36</sup>For Aštišat = 'Aštē's delight' see Markwart, 288. For pagan cults at Astisat see R. W. Thomson (ed. & trans.), Agathangelos' History of the Armenians (Albany, NY: SUNY, 1976) 347, para. 809.

<sup>37</sup>Garsoïan, 88-90, who provides a translation of part of the oath.

<sup>38</sup>Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i, Contra Paulicianos 88-89, trans. in Garsoian, 132.

<sup>39</sup>S. Runciman, The Medieval Manichee (Cambridge: University Press, 1947; reprt. 1955) 37-38; cf. Lemerle, 55.

<sup>40</sup>Catalogue of Heresies as cited and translated by Garsoian, 112-113.

<sup>41</sup>R. M. Bartikyan, "Pavlikyan šaržman mi k'ani ašbyurnerc šurjē," IAN ArmSSR (1957) 6:85-97, esp. 95. See also Garsoïan, 130-31.

<sup>42</sup>See also Markwart, 270, 279.

<sup>43</sup>Aṣṣarhac'oyc' Movsisi Xorenac'woc' (ed. H. A. Siwk'rian; Venice, 1881) as cited and translated in Garsoīan, 130, n. 77. See also the improved edition by J. Marquart (ed.) "Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i." (Abh. Gött. Akad. Wiss. Phil.-hist. kl. N. F. 3, 3 (Berlin, 1901) part 2, chap. 26. (text on 14, 17-20; trans. on 141-142).

<sup>44</sup>Georgios Kyprios (ed. H. Gelzer; Leipzig, 1890) para. 945-947. See also discussion in Markwart, 220; W. Tomaschek, "Sasun und das Queliengebeit des Tigris," S. B. Akad. Wien phil.-hist. kl. 133 (1896) No. 4 p. 8; R. H. Hewsen, "Armenia according to the Aṣṣarhac'oyc'," REArm 2 (1965) 327-328 relates that Sanasunk' in Aljnik' is No. 28 and Xoyt' in Tawuberan is No. 29 in Eremyan's list of Cantons.

<sup>45</sup>Tovmay Arcruni, Patmut'iwn [(trans. Brosset, Collection d'historiens arméniennes; St. Petersburg: Academy, 1874-1876) 2. 106] as quoted in Garsoīan, 227; see also Tomaschek, "Sasun," 13. Markwart, 209.

<sup>46</sup>Compare 2 Kings 19: 37 "And it came to pass, as he [Sennacherib] was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword; and they escaped into the land of Armenia [v. 1 Ararat]. And Esarhaddon, his son, reigned in his stead." For alleged descendants of Sanasar in the mountains of Šim in Sanasun see R. W. Thomson (ed. & trans.) Moses Khorenats'i. History of the Armenians (Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard, 1978) 112.

<sup>47</sup>Ms. Vienna Arm. Mekh. N. 10 B1.478a. noted by Markwart, 465-66. For Arcruni claims to Sanasun, see Markwart, 473.

<sup>48</sup>J. Bryce, Transcaucasia and Ararat (London, 1896) 486-89.

<sup>49</sup>Contra Paulicianos 78-79, as quoted in Garsoian, 135.

<sup>50</sup>Contra Paulicianos 88-89.

<sup>51</sup>Garsoīan, 135 n. 100. referring to Inčičian, Geography of Armenia (Venice, 1822). In the Library of the Mekhitaristes in Vienna P. Generalabt Grigoris Manian (to whom Dr. W. Seibt kindly conducted me on November 19, 1982) generously sought out reference to Ĵrkay. In the printed text of Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i Matenagrut'iwn (Venice, 1833) 39. it is not clear that Ĵrkay is a proper noun; but M. Č'amč'ian, in his Patmut'iwn Hayoc' (Venice, 1785) 2.386, treated the word as a toponym, as did L. Inčičian—in the edition

of the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* published at Venice in 1835 (I.166). Inčičian lists Ĵrkay as a lake. The name is cognate with  $\sqrt{\text{Jrg}}$  and so means 'the watery place'; the meaning is appropriate to a headwater of the Tigris but the position of Ĵrkay is still problematical. A new, and penetrating, study of tributaries of the Tigris to the south of Lake Van is by J. M. Thierry, "Les Sources du Tigre oriental selon la tradition hellénistique," in *Geographica Byzantina* (ed. H. Ahrweiler, Sorbonne, Paris 1981) 131-138.

<sup>52</sup>Tomaschek, "Sasun," 8.

<sup>53</sup>Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, *Patmut'iwn*, 119-125.

<sup>54</sup>Note also the Paulinstai near tenth-century Euchaita in Pontus who may have been Paulicians; on them see J. Darrouzès, *Epitoliens byzantins du Xe Siècle* (Paris, 1960) 275, 28. Other persistent heretics, to be compared to the 'Assyrians' of Sanasun and Xoyt', were the 'perfect ones' still to be found less than a century ago among the Syriac-speaking shepherds on the hills to the north of Mardin: "These have their christs and Dr. Wallis Budge, to whom the present writer owes his information, was shown the stream in which their last christ had been baptized." (F. C. Conybeare, "Paulicians," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.; 1911) 20. 962).

<sup>55</sup>Conybeare, xxiii, xxvii. For the connection between the T'on-drakians ( \*Θονδραγῖται ) and the eleventh-century Byzantine heresy of Φουνδαγῖται see R. Bartikjan, *Lraber HG* (1980) 9.58-68, esp. 63-64.

## THE KINGDOM OF ARC'AX\*

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One of the peculiarities of Armenian historiography in the West has been a neglect of the history of the Armenian Plateau in the period between the Battle of Manzikert of 1071 and the rise of the early Armenian liberation movement in the late seventeenth century. Captivated by the emergence of the remarkable state of Armeno-Cilicia, Western historians have tended to lose interest in events taking place in Armenia proper once it was overrun by the Turks, passing over with a few broad strokes the invasions, campaigns, wars and conquests which they examine in minute detail when discussing the Urartian, Roman, Byzantine, Arab, or Bagratid periods.<sup>1</sup> Not until the recent appearance of *Histoire des Arméniens* (under collective authorships, editor G. Dédéyan), which devoted slightly more than two of its sixteen chapters to this period, was any serious attempt made in the West to come to grips with the detailed history of these admittedly confusing and obscure centuries.<sup>2</sup>

The reason for the neglect of such a lengthy and relatively recent period in Armenian history is not a dearth of sources, for these are ample—at least for the first half of the period. Nor is it due to the lack of a history worth relating, for much of great importance was taking place in Armenia at this time. The reason, I believe, for slighting these six centuries is the lack of enthusiasm on the part of many historians for a period of Armenian history which they perceive to be primarily the history of alien peoples ruling over an Armenian population no longer master in its own homeland. The alarums and excursions of Cilician history are much more arresting for those interested in the Armenian odyssey, and the story of the later Armenian political, cultural and ecclesiastical revival is perhaps thought to be more

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T. Samuelian & M. Stone, eds. *Medieval Armenian Culture*. (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 6). Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983. pp. 42 to 68.

edifying, and more relevant for others less interested in the earlier periods. Yet, even if the history of Armenia is considered to be more the history of the Armenian people themselves than that of the Armenian plateau and of the comings and goings of the foreign powers which have dominated it, we should still be aware that in this period there are numerous examples of national endeavor on the part of the Armenians of the homeland proper, and that there was not a moment during these long centuries when all of the Armenian people lost their independence or control over the destiny of at least a part of their native land.

Space does not permit a thorough examination of the various centers of Armenian independence which survived after the Turkish deluge had broken over the high plateau. Therefore, I shall confine myself to the circumstances which surrounded and made possible the survival of autonomous enclaves in Eastern Armenia; that is, in Siwnik' and Karabagh ( Լարաձ), and in particular to what I shall call the "Kingdom of Arc'ax," which flourished, however feebly or fitfully, from the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. I shall not elaborate upon the history of the Armenian meliks, who appear at a later date and with whom I have dealt elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> Rather I shall concentrate on their predecessors, those dynasts who bridge the period between the fall of the principality of Albania in the early ninth century and the emergence of the melik houses in the fifteenth. A brief examination of the history of this part of Armenia in this period will, I think, demonstrate the significance and excitement of the events which took place here in the Armenian "dark ages," many of which events still await their historian.

# I

As the Caliphate weakened in the ninth and tenth centuries, a number of independent states emerged from among the various Armenian principalities which had survived in Armenia during the period of the Arab domination, their rulers one by one achieving recognition of royal status from both the Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire. The largest of these states, eventually centered at Ani, in Տիրակ, appeared under the Bagratuni dynasty in 885.<sup>4</sup> This was followed by Vaspurakan (under the Arçrunids) in 908;<sup>5</sup> by Dizak or K't'iš in southern Arc'ax (under the Ařanřahikids), calling itself the "Kingdom of Albania" in c. 922;<sup>6</sup> and by Siwnik' (under its native dynasty) in c. 961.<sup>7</sup> Thereafter, there emerged, as offshoots of the Kingdom of Ani, two

more independent Bagratid Kingdoms, one centered at Kars, in the earlier principality of Vanand, in 962,<sup>8</sup> and the other at Lori, in Tašir, in 982, also calling itself the "kingdom of Albania."<sup>9</sup>

Finally, from c. 1000 to 1266, the Princes of Xaç'ēn, the earlier land of Arc'ax, today known as Karabagh (Ġarabaġ), also assumed the royal title, forming yet a third "Kingdom of Albania" or, alternatively, "Kingdom of Arc'ax,"<sup>10</sup> and obviously laying claim to the same Albanian inheritance as the Bagratid Kings at Lori and the Afanšahikids of Dizak. To distinguish these Kings of Albania in Arc'ax-Xaç'ēn from the other claimants to the same dignity, I shall refer to them as the "Kings of Arc'ax," a unique and more accurate title, which on occasion they themselves used. Thus, by the end of the first millenium A.D., no less than seven Armenian kingdoms were functioning upon the Armenian Plateau.

Few of these political formations were fated to last for long. Spearheads of the Seljuk Turkish invasion forced the King of Vaspurakan to cede his state to the Byzantines as early as 1021, while Ani passed under Byzantine rule in 1045. Then, under the leadership of Alp Arslan, a full-scale Turkish invasion of Armenia was launched. Ani was taken in 1064, and after the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, the Byzantines were cleared from the plateau forever, and the Turks were left virtual masters of Anatolia. Kars had fallen to them by 1065, while Manzikert had given them Vaspurakan. Of the seven Armenian kingdoms only four remained: Lori-Albania, whose king, Gurgen (1046-1081), saved his state only by accepting Turkish sovereignty and giving his daughter to Alp Arslan; southern Siwnik' (Siwnik'-Baġk'), Dizak-K't'iš, and Xaç'ēn, all of which had accepted Turkish overlordship as well.<sup>11</sup>

The Seljuk domination of Armenia coincided with the rise of the Georgian state, which had united into a single kingdom in 1008, and which, after the coming of the Mongols in the thirteenth century, created a pan-Caucasian state of formidable proportions. As the Turks and their various Muslim vassals began to falter in the twelfth century, Georgia expanded into northern and eastern Armenia, capturing Ani, Dvin and Kars, and all of Siwnik', wisely placing these regions under Armenian vassal princes, and reducing to the same vassalage the rulers of Dizak and Xaç'ēn.<sup>12</sup> We shall not concern ourselves here with the Bagratid Kings of Lori, who lingered on until the late thirteenth century, or with such Armenian vassals of the Georgian kings as the Xaġbakids of Vayoc' Jor, the Orbelids of Siwnik', or the Mxargrjelids, Gagelids and Mankaberdelids to the east of Lake Sevan,

all of whom profited from the Georgian domination of Armenia. Rather we shall focus upon the various branches of the Siwnid house ruling in the regions to the south and southeast of the lake. Let us examine briefly the history of this dynasty so as to understand how the Kingdom of Arc'ax emerged under its aegis.

## II

The Princes Siwni, a family which may have been of Scythian origin, were the immemorial dynasts of the land of Siwnik', the largest principality of ancient Armenia (Map I), but are known only since the conversion of Armenia to Christianity,<sup>13</sup> in the early fourth century, at which time Antovk (Antiochus) Siwni was head of the house. Antiochus' granddaughter, P'aranjem, was the consort of King Aršak II of Armenia,<sup>14</sup> and her nephew, the arch-traitor Prince Vasak of Siwnik', was the Persian viceroy of Armenia at the time of the Vardananc' war almost a century after.<sup>15</sup> Still later, in the seventh century, Gregory II Novirak, Prince of Siwnik', who had married the daughter of Xosrov II, Shah of Iran, died fighting for the Persians against the Arabs at the Battle of Qadisiya.<sup>16</sup> Thereafter, the family may be traced with only a few breaks and uncertain filiations until the time of Vasak III (d. 821), when our sources became abundant, and when we find for the first time, to our knowledge, the territory of Siwnik' being divided among different branches of the family (Map II).<sup>17</sup>

Now, from earlier times, Armenia had been composed of a number of autonomous states each ruled by a sovereign prince (išxan). The lands of the prince were family domains, indivisible, and passed from father to son, or, lacking a son, to the Prince's oldest brother. This system began to break down in the Arab period (c. 650-c. 960), when the other male members of the house (sepuh-s), began to seek autonomy over specific lands held by them within the family domain.<sup>18</sup>

This process must have begun by the end of the eighth century for at the beginning of the ninth we find the principality of Siwnik' being divided and redivided among the various scions of the house.<sup>19</sup> The senior line, which we may call the branch of West Siwnik', always held the bulk of the family domains, and, when the principality achieved international recognition as a kingdom in c. 961, it was the prince of West Siwnik' alone who possessed the royal title, being recognized within the family as "Great Geniarch" (mec



nahapet) over the other branches of the house. This senior line became extinct, however, in c. 1019, when King Vasak VI died leaving a single daughter Kotramide (Catherine), who had been married to King Gagik I, Bagratid ruler of Armenia at Ani, and now, apparently having inherited the bulk of her father's domains, would have had to bring them into the hands of her husband.<sup>21</sup>

The second branch of the Siwnid family, the line of North Siwnik' or Gelark'unik' had already disappeared in c. 912. Its lands, lying in the basin of Lake Sevan, may have been annexed by the Bagratids, who were expanding easternward under Ašot II at just about this time (922) making themselves masters of Utik' and of the other lands lying between Lake Sevan and the River Kur<sup>22</sup> (Map III).

The third branch of the Siwnid House, the line of South Siwnik' or Kovsakan-Baġk' is the only one in Siwnik' which survived both the Bagratid annexations and the Turkish conquest. Having inherited the royal title after the death of Vasak VI, it continued the kingdom of Siwnik' (in Baġk') as late as 1071.<sup>23</sup> In that year, however, King Gregory III, who married Šahanduxt, sister of King Sennacherib of Dizak and had no children of his own, left Baġk' and its throne to his brother-in-law, whose territory—Dizak—would have thereby doubled in size. This Sennacherib, son of Dakin-Sevada, was of the House of Aʿanšahik, which until the first century A.D. had ruled Albania, and which had apparently survived all these centuries here in Arc'ax. This principality, known both as Dizak or as K't'iš after its center, lay in what was later southern Karabagh, and adjoined that of Baġk' on the east. Sennacherib had saved his principality at the time of the Seljuk invasion by accepting the overlordship of Alp Arslan's son, Sultan Malik Shah, who, occupied elsewhere, had adopted a policy of maintaining local Christian rulers in Caucasia in return for submission and payment of taxes.<sup>24</sup> King George II of Georgia (1072-1089) had gone in person to make his obeisance to the Sultan at Ispahan, and Sennacherib, now King of Dizak and Baġk', did the same.<sup>25</sup>

After the death of Malik Shah in 1093, the order which he had established began to break down. In 1097, the Crusaders arrived in Syria. Meanwhile various Seljuk chieftains and rebellious lieutenants had begun struggling for possession of the newly conquered Turkish lands. The resulting turmoil soon spread to Armenia. According to Stephen Orbelean, King Sennacherib, while at Ispahan, had thoughtlessly promised the hand of his

daughter to Č'ort'man, Sultan Malik Shah's favorite slave. Once freed and raised to high rank, Č'ort'man expected to receive his bride. The king, however, now apparently back in Dizak-Baġk', refused to render his daughter, and in 1103 Č'ort'man began launching attacks on his territory. Leading a force of Kurdish infantry, he surrounded Łap'an in Baġk', and though its citadel held, the town itself was taken and its population massacred.<sup>26</sup> Sennacherib, taken by treachery, was slain.

Over the next sixty years, the Turks continuously raided Baġk' gradually seizing one portion of it after another until in 1166 its political center, the fortress of Baġaberġ, was captured.<sup>27</sup> We do not know if these Turkish raids extended as far as Dizak, the eastern half of the kingdom. In any case, we continue to hear of a "King of Baġk'" for another ninety-five years following the fall of Baġaberġ, although—and this is something not always appreciated—by this title we must understand "King of Dizak" and only titular King of Baġk'; that is, King of the eastern half of the kingdom ruled by Sennacherib prior to c. 1072, which had originally belonged to Aġanšahikids before they inherited Baġk', and where they continued to rule under the title "King of Baġk'" taken when Sennacherib had acquired Baġk' from his wife's brother, King Gregory III (Map IV).<sup>28</sup>

Now, directly to the north of Dizak lay the lands of the fourth line of the Siwnid House which we may call the eastern branch, the line of Xač'ēn, whose background we shall examine presently. Close ties bound the two states of Dizak and Xač'ēn. King Gregory IV of Dizak married his daughter Kata (Catherine) to Hasan the Great, Prince of Xač'ēn,<sup>29</sup> and, when Hasan's grandson, Hasan II, known as Hasan-Ĵalal-Dōla (c. 1214-1266) married the daughter of the last king of Dizak-Baġk', the two states were merged, Hasan-Ĵalal-Dōla taking the title "King of Arc'ax and of Baġk'," and subsuming into this title all of the earlier Siwnid, Aġanšahikid and Mihranid claims.<sup>30</sup> Let us now examine this fourth or eastern branch of the House of Siwnik'. Its origin is interesting and it is the Siwnid line which founded the Kingdom of Arc'ax and from which most of the melik houses of Eastern Armenia originated. This branch alone survived the medieval period, and individual families descended from it survive today—from Karabagh to Moscow, and around the globe to Rome, Paris, New York, Washington, San Francisco and Hollywood.<sup>31</sup>

## III

As far as we can tell, the land of Arc'ax originally had no princes off its own. Who owned it or how it was governed when it was passed to Albania in 387 are unknown to us.<sup>32</sup> All we can be sure of is that when the Principality of Albania collapsed in the ninth century, Arc'ax was in the hands of the Aġanšahikid dynasty, which was descended from the earliest royal family of Albania.<sup>33</sup> In 822, when the last Presiding Prince of Albania was murdered by a close relative of the Siwnid House, his widow took her only surviving child, a daughter, Spġam, to the castle of Xaĉ'ĕn deep in the mountains near the frontier between the Siwnid and Albanian lands. Shortly thereafter she married her daughter to Atrnerseh, a Siwnid prince, whose father, Sahl, son of Smbat, had forcibly seized Geġark'unik' from the Siwnid family domains.<sup>34</sup> Having married the heiress of the last Prince of Gardman and last ruler of Albania, Atrnerseh (821-853) took the title "Prince of Gardman and Albania" and lost no time moving into Arc'ax (apparently seizing the northern part of it—Vaykunik'—from the Aġanšahikids). There he built the fortress of Handaberd and erected a palace at Vaykunik', a hot spring which had been the site of the royal baths of the old Albanian rulers.<sup>35</sup> Since we know that Atrnerseh already owned the district of Sġdk' (the eastern half of Geġark'unik'),<sup>36</sup> we must assume that Sġdk' was his share of his father's ill-gotten gains, for as we have seen, the Siwnid line of Geġark'unik' disappears in c. 912; Atrnerseh's descendants, on the other hand, continued to hold Sġdk' until the eighteenth century.<sup>37</sup>

Atrnerseh's son, Gregory, extended the holdings of his line in Arc'ax, and his son, Isaac-Sewada, subjected the district of Gardman or Parisos and other lands to the north<sup>38</sup> which, of course, were his by right of inheritance through his grandmother, Princess Spġam. The expansionism of Atrnerseh and his descendants makes it clear that we are witnessing a conscious attempt on the part of his house to reconquer step by step the old Albanian lands inherited, at least in theory, through Atrnerseh's marriage to Princess Spġam. It was in this way that the East Siwnid state of Xaĉ'ĕn or northern Arc'ax, ruled by this fourth Siwnid line, rose to prominence during the ninth and tenth centuries, and it is not surprising to find John-Sennacherib II, a sixth generation descendant of Atrnerseh and Spram, styling himself "King of Albania" as late as 1000,<sup>39</sup> or of his seventh generation descendant, Hasan I, using the title "Prince of Xaĉ'ĕn and King of Siwnik'," as late as 1142.<sup>40</sup>

It is this state, founded by the fourth line of the House of Siwnik' in 821, which became a kingdom by the year 1000.<sup>41</sup> Ulubabyan calls it the principality of Xač'ēn. I prefer to call it, at least for the period when its rulers possessed the royal title, the "Kingdom of Arc'ax."

Now Hasan I, called "The Great," was an important prince ruling over all of the northern half of Arc'ax<sup>42</sup> but, after abdicating to enter a monastery in 1182, he apparently divided his kingdom between two of his sons: the elder, Vaxt'ank II, called Tonk'ik (p. 1201-p. 1214), received the southern half of the realm, namely Xač'ēn, and a younger son, Gregory surnamed "The Black," was given the northern half, i.e. the lands adjoining the southeast corner of Lake Sevan (Sōdk' and Vaykunik' or Car, Map V).<sup>43</sup> From Vaxt'ank-Tonk'ik was descended the Siwnid line of the Vaxt'ankeank' Princes of Xač'ēn, from whom issued the House of Hasan-Ĵalalean, Meliks of Xač'ēn, the senior line among the later melik houses of Eastern Armenia.<sup>44</sup> From Gregory the Black was descended the younger Siwnid line of the Dop'eank' so-called from Gregory's wife Susan-Dop', daughter of Sargis II, prince Mxargrjeli.<sup>45</sup> From these Dop'eank' there were issued several other of the other melik houses (Šahnazarean, Beglarean, etc.).<sup>46</sup>

But although the Kingdom of Arc'ax was thus divided, it did not cease to expand. Having married the daughter of the last Aṭanšahikid King of Balk', who reigned in Dizak to the south, the son of Vaxt'ank, Hasan Ĵalal-Dōla (p. 1214-1266), inherited his father-in-law's domains and took the title "King of Arc'ax and Baḱ'" (Map VI).<sup>47</sup>

Several aspects of Hasan Ĵalal's genealogy come into play here. First, Hasan-Ĵalal's wife was the last surviving member of the ancient House of Aṭanšahik, the Princes of Dizak and Baḱ', who had ruled as the Kings of Albania a millenium before. Second, it was through absorption into this house that the first and third branches of the house of Siwnik' had become extinct. Finally, Hasan-Ĵalal was descended in the female line from the Mihranid Princes of Gardman, who had been the Presiding Princes of Albania under the Arabs, and he, himself, represented the senior male member of the last surviving branch of the House of Siwnik'. Thus there devolved upon this one prince all of the earlier titles and claims possessed both by his ancestors and by those of his wife, and through them, all of the major inheritances of the various dynasties of Albania and Eastern Armenia. At one and the same time, then, Hasan Ĵalal Dōla could legitimately style himself King of Siwnik', King of Baḱ', King of Arc'ax, and King of Albania, not to mention Prince

of Gardman, Dizak and Xač'ēn—as well as Presiding Prince of Albania—as he chose. He selected, as we have seen, the title "King of Arc'ax and Bałk'." And this was 200 years after the fall of Ani. So much for the tenacity of the rulers of Arc'ax.

## IV

Geographically, the Kingdom of Arc'ax included all of the earlier land of Arc'ax, the adjoining principality of Gardman-Pařisos to the north, and the northwest Siwnian lands of Getark'unik' and Södk'. It thus comprised almost 10,000 sq. km. and was a more than double the size of present-day Highland Karabagh (4388 sq. km. Map IV). The kingdom had no permanent capital, no cities and, except for Pařisos, no towns, both Ganja and Šamxor lying outside of its limits. The castle of Xoxanaberd<sup>48</sup> or Xač'ēn was its first center but Hasan the Great preferred to live at the large village of Car<sup>49</sup> with its hot springs, and Hasan-Ĵalal's preferred residence was the castle of Akana.<sup>50</sup> Eventually the family settled at the fortress of Hat'erk' on the Terter River.<sup>51</sup> There were about fifteen forts, fortresses and castles in the kingdom. Besides those already mentioned, we may cite Berdkunk', Berdakur, Getabaks, Gardman, K't'iš and Tfi, Hakarakaberd, Handaberd, Xavkaxařac' and Södk'.<sup>52</sup>

Politically Arc'ax was a unified state for over three and one half centuries until Hasan the Great partitioned it between two of his sons in 1182. Shortly thereafter, however, the acquisition of Dizak by Hasan Ĵalal-Döla gave the kingdom a third section. Each third was then ruled by a different line of the same Fourth Siwnid branch, the senior line, the Vaxt'ankeank' reigning in the central land of Xač'ēn in the Terter Valley; then the Dop'eank' to the north and northwest in Getark'unik', Gardman, Södk' and Car; and finally, what I choose to call the "Avaneank'" holding Dizak to the south (Map VII).<sup>53</sup>

The kingdom of Arc'ax elaborated its foreign policy—its own local Weltpolitik. It accepted the suzerainty of Georgia during its ascendancy under Queen T'amar the Great (1187-1213), and quickly accepted Mongol domination when forced to do so in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>54</sup> Its rulers intermarried regularly with neighboring Gagelids, Mxargrjelids, Mankaberdelids, Orbelids of Siwnik', the Bagratids of Lori and Kars, and even with their Mongol overlords.<sup>55</sup> The survival of the state and the preservation of

its autonomy were, of course, its foremost concerns.

As far as military power was concerned Arc'ax, of course, was a feeble state, feudal in nature, and its rulers relied upon an unprofessional army composed of warrior peasants who, led by local magnates and village headmen, rallied to the banner of their lord upon his call. Always defensive, these forces are not reported to have been launched upon a campaign beyond the frontiers of the realm unless, as in the case of Hasan-Ĵalal, their lord himself was required to attend his suzerain with a more or less respectable force of men-at-arms.<sup>56</sup>

Needless to say, the Kingdom of Arc'ax attracted its share of Muslim predators eager to despoil its rulers of their modest means. In the Albanian Chronicle of Mxit'ar Goš, for example, we learn that in the year 1144/5 the Turkish emir, "Djōli, growing arrogant, turned against the region of Xaç'ēn, captured all its fortresses, demolished the churches, and burned down the monasteries."<sup>57</sup>

In 1145/6 Djōli was back a second time:

"For the fortresses he took on the first occasion did not remain in his hands . . . for some of the nobles who had been hiding in forest caves retook them and rebelled . . . Angered by this, Djōli marched against them seeking revenge. He was not able to capture the fortresses, but he completely laid waste the entire land. He also burned down the holy monastery of Dadivank'."<sup>58</sup>

Similarly, in a colophon of an Armenian manuscript dated 1417 we read that:

In our land of Xaç'ēn, there was a pious prince named Zaz who departed this life . . . and the survivors of his family . . . are all subjects of the lawless ones, and thus, the authority in our Haykazeen land was diminished.<sup>59</sup>

In a moment we shall be reading a colophon from yet another manuscript where we will hear about another despoilation of the region by the Muslims and about how the Dop'eank' Princes of the Siwnid house responded to this in a vigorous and effective way.

For its basic needs, the kingdom relied upon its rich crops, its flocks and herds, its dense forests, its mines of copper and gold, and its skilled craftsmen. A few luxuries such as silk and salt were brought in from outside via the old trade route of the Arab period, which connected the city of GanĴa with both central Armenia and Naxičevan and which followed the Terter

Valley directly past the castle of Hat'erk'.<sup>60</sup>

Ecclesiastically, the Kingdom of Arc'ax lay within the jurisdiction of the Catholicossate of Albania, a subdivision the administrative structure of the Armenian Church, and roughly speaking, the kingdom was coterminous with this jurisdiction.<sup>61</sup> The Hasan-Jalaleans early got control of this catholicossate whose primate by the fifteenth century was always a member of the family. The title "Catholicos of Albania" passed from uncle to nephew, and his ecclesiastical lands, finances and influence was thus always available to the house.<sup>62</sup> Located at the Monastery of Amaras in Dizak after the destruction of Partav,<sup>63</sup> the Catholicossate was transferred to the large and handsome monastery of St. John the Baptist at Gandjasar founded by Hasan-Jalal-Dōla and completed in 1238, and there it remained until the office was suppressed by the Russians in 1828.<sup>64</sup> There were more than a dozen monasteries in the kingdom. In addition to the two just mentioned, we may cite Dadivank'.<sup>65</sup> Vanakan, Mak'enoc', Xot'avank', Xat'ravank', Cicer-nakavank' and Xoranašat. Moreover, the ruling house supplied abbots and bishops to other monasteries and sees as far afield as Haḫbat and Sanahin.<sup>66</sup>

As in Ani, Kars, Vaspurakan and elsewhere, where the Armenian monarchies had been restored, a certain cultural renaissance took place in Arc'ax and its vicinity in the tenth to thirteenth centuries. It is within the context of this renaissance that we must place the eastern Armenian literary activity, which has been called the "Albanian School" of Armenian literature, and which produced, among others, such writers as the historian of Albania, Movsēs Dasxurenac'i (tenth century);<sup>67</sup> the philosopher and scientist, Yovhannēs Sarkawag (d. 1129);<sup>68</sup> the first Armenian jurist, Davit', son of Alavik (d. 1140);<sup>69</sup> the codifier of Armenian law, Mxit'ar Goš (d. 1213), who founded the monastery and cultural center of Nor Getik;<sup>70</sup> his pupil Vanakan, vartabed (d.c. 1250), who founded the monastery of Xoranašat,<sup>71</sup> and his pupil, Malak'ia the Monk 1272.<sup>72</sup> Finally, we must not omit the three great historians of the thirteenth century, Vardan of the East (Arevelc'i),<sup>73</sup> called "The Great," who was also known as a geographer and writer of fables (d.c. 1270);<sup>74</sup> and Step'anos Ōrbelean, historian of the House of Siwnik' (d. 1305).<sup>75</sup>

Finally, a few words must be said about the ethos or *Weltanschauung* of this obscure and tiny state. There is no question whatsoever that the Kings of Arc'ax and their successors, the princes and Meliks of Xač'ēn, were conscious of their role as one of the last centers of Armenian independence



in the increasingly deepening ocean of Islam which was engulfing southeast Caucasia.<sup>76</sup> In inscriptions,<sup>77</sup> colophons<sup>78</sup> and other documents,<sup>79</sup> they often refer to themselves as being of the House of Albania or the House of Armenia, and, when their melik descendants addressed letters to the Pope or to Peter the Great, they did not shrink from speaking on behalf of the entire Armenian people, recognizing in themselves the last remnant of the Armenian nobility of old, the traditional leaders and spokesmen of the nation as a whole.<sup>80</sup> In the values and way of life of these meliks, we detect clear echoes, however feeble, decadent or impoverished, of the ethos of the great naxarar houses of ancient and medieval Armenia as described by Ehišē, Movsēs Xorenac'i and others a millenium or more before.

## V

In the time of Hasan-Ĵalal-Dōla, the Mongols reached Armenia. He submitted to them and led his troops in their army. Unfortunately, he fell afoul of the Emir Arghoun and was decapitated at Qazvin in 1266.<sup>81</sup> Thereafter, although his descendants continued to rule in Arc'ax, they no longer, to our knowledge, possessed the royal title, being content to style themselves by the earlier title "Princes of Xač'ēn."<sup>82</sup> Meanwhile, Dizak, acquired by Hasan-Ĵalal-Dōla, had, after his execution, passed to his cousin Vaxt'ank, ancestor of the later Meliks-Avanean of Dizak.<sup>83</sup> Hatir Melik, a seventh-generation descendant of Hasan-Ĵalal-Dōla, became the first Melik of Xač'ēn in the time of the Black Sheep Turkoman Lord of Armenia, Jehan Shah, about 1457.<sup>84</sup> His descendant, Allahverdi II, who died in 1813, was ruling Xač'ēn when the Russians came to Karabagh in 1805, and was the last Melik of his house.<sup>85</sup> The Hasan-Ĵalalids played a major role in the early Armenian independence movement, and in 1786 the Albanian Catholicos, Yovhannēs XII, Hasan-Ĵalalean was executed by the Persians for his traffic with the agents of Catherine the Great.<sup>86</sup>

As for the younger lines of the Siwnid House of Arc'ax, they too had their distinction. Among the Dop'eank', for example, we hear of Prince Šahinšah the Great, who fell on the field of honor together with several of his sons, defending his people against the invasion of Timur (c. 1390).<sup>87</sup> In a colophon of a fifteenth-century manuscript, we read of this Sahinsah,

in whose time the Muslims became powerful and the house of  
Armenia was overthrown, and all our princes having been

dispersed, foreign invaders confiscated the domains of the great Prince Hasan. The great Prince Aytin, having gone to their court, succeeded after three years of effort and much expense, in freeing the monasteries and villages from the hands of the infidels. May the God of the Universe grant him the rewards for his labors. <sup>88</sup>

The colophonist neglects to mention the more earthly award received by Aytin, for it was he who engineered the restoration of the Siwnid princes in their ancestral lands in Arc'ax-Karabagh, and the recognition of their status with the conferral upon them of the title "melik" (Map VII).<sup>89</sup> As another later example, among the Meliks of Dizak, we find Melik Avan II, a close friend of the last Safavid Shah.<sup>90</sup> After the fall of the Safavids, Avan served under Peter the Great, was recognized by the Tsar as an Armenian prince, and was one of the first of the long line of Armenians to serve as an officer in the Russian army.<sup>91</sup> Finally, Israel Ori, founder of the Armenian liberation movement in the seventeenth century;<sup>92</sup> the famed Russian-Armenian General Prince Valerian Madatov;<sup>93</sup> as well as Xač'atur Abovian, the first Armenian novelist and founder of the modern Eastern Armenian literary language,<sup>94</sup> were all three of royal Siwnid origin, descendants of the Kings of Arc'ax.

The Kingdom of Arc'ax, under one name or another, lasted from about 1000 A.D. to 1266—a period of over 250 years. I have traced its background and origins, and have followed its echoes down to the nineteenth century. I have also briefly sketched its political and dynastic history, but I have only begun to penetrate the subject. The kingdom also has its social history, as well as its ecclesiastical and cultural development, all of which need further investigation. What I have attempted to do here, following the guidelines of this conference, has been to demonstrate how the apparently insignificant dynasts and petty states of post-Bagratid Armenia served as a source of continuity between the period of the reassertation of Armenian independence in the ninth to eleventh centuries, and the rise of a new Armenian independence movement in the late-seventeenth century. This continuity between medieval and modern Armenian history is remarkable as much for its longevity as for its fragility—especially when we consider that the descendants of the "Kings of Arc'ax" played a prominent role in Karabagh during the period of the Armenian Republic,<sup>95</sup> and even after the establishment of Soviet Power, when as recently as 1965, a certain Nikolai Semyonovich

Melik-Shakhnazarov—a direct descendant of Antiochus, Prince of Siwnik' of the time of St. Gregory the Illuminator, was First Secretary of the Communist Party of Highland Karabagh and as such, we may be sure, firmly in control of the land of his ancestors.<sup>96</sup> This so-called "Autonomous" Province of Highland Karabagh, an Armenian-inhabited enclave within the Azerbaidjani Soviet Socialist Republic, is in direct lineal descendant of the medieval Kingdom of Arc'ax. A loose end in Armenian geopolitical history, its very existence is a testimony to the significance of the medieval kingdom, whose geography and whose rulers together imposed a sense of unity, identity and self-awareness upon its inhabitants, all reflected in the present-day "Karabagh Question" which has yet to be adequately resolved.<sup>97</sup>

#### NOTES

\*This paper represents work in progress and was written before the author obtained access to B. Ulubabyan's Xač'ēni iṣṣanut'yunē (Erevan, 1975). The reader is referred to this important work for additional information, greater detail, and for a Soviet Armenian point of view, as well as to the interesting and valuable article by the late S. G. Barxudaryan, "Arc'axi, Šak'i ew P'atisosi iṣṣanut'yunnerē ix-x darerum," Patmabanasirakan Handes (1971), 1:52-76; to the latter's Divan hay vimagrut'yan, vol. V. Arc'ax (Erevan, 1982), and to B. Limper's published doctoral dissertation, Die Mongolen und die Christlichen Volker des Kaukasus (Cologne, 1980), pp. 211-20, all three of which came to my attention after this paper was presented.

<sup>1</sup>Thus, for example, Grousset's Histoire de l'Arménie (Paris, 1949) ends in 1071; J. de Morgan in his L'Histoire du peuple arménien (Paris, 1916), Engl. transl. E. Barry (Boston, 1956), devotes exactly twelve pages to the period between 1375 and 1679; V. Kurkjian in his A History of Armenia (New York, 1958) devotes ten to an even longer period (1064-1878), while D. M. Lang in his Armenia Cradle of Civilization ignores the entire five centuries between 1375 and 1878 altogether!

<sup>2</sup>G. Dédéyan (ed.), Histoire des Armeniens (Toulouse, 1982).

<sup>3</sup>R. H. Hewsen, "The Meliks of Eastern Armenia: A Preliminary Study," REArm 9 (1972), 285-329; idem. "II" REArm 10 (1973-74), 281-300 and "III" REArm 11 (1975-76), 219-43.

<sup>4</sup>C. Toumanoff, "Armenia and Georgia" in Cambridge Medieval History IV The Byzantine Empire, Part I (Cambridge, 1966), 612.

<sup>5</sup>V. M. Vardayan, Vaspurakani Arcruneac' T'agavorut'yuně (Erevan, 1969).

<sup>6</sup>C. Toumanoff, Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de la Caucasic Chretienne (Rome, 1976); *idem* Supplement (1978), 15.

<sup>7</sup>T. X. Hakobyan, Syunik'i T'agavorut'yuně (Erevan, 1966), 3.

<sup>8</sup>Toumanoff, "Arm. amd Geo.," 617.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup>Ulubabyan, *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup>Step'annos Ōrbēlean, Patmut'iwn Nahangin Sisakan (ed. K. Sah-nazarian; Paris, 1859); Fr. trans. M. F. Brosset, Histoire de la Siounie (St. Petersburg, 1864), LIX.

<sup>12</sup>Atlas Gruzinskoi Sovetskoi Socialističeskoj Respubliki (Tbilisi-Moscow, 1964), 251-52.

<sup>13</sup>C. Toumanoff, Manuel, 226.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 229.

<sup>17</sup>Hewsen, "Meliks II," 282 ff.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup>Toumanoff, Manuel, 230 ff.

<sup>20</sup>Hewsen, "Meliks II," 282.

<sup>21</sup>Toumanoff, Manuel, 233.

<sup>22</sup>C. Toumanoff, Studies in Christian Caucasian History (Washington, 1963), 219.

<sup>23</sup>Step'annos Ōrbelean, LIX. For the date 1072 cf. Toumanoff, Manuel, 235. By the Kingdom of Bałk' we must understand a "greater" Bałk' which included, besides Bałk' itself, the neighboring districts of Jork' (Łap'an or Kapan), Arewik' (Dašton and Melri), and Kavsakan (Krham, the later

Barguśat), and also, at its height, Čŭkk' (Sisikan) and Haband. Baĥk', in both its greater and lesser senses, also included the subdistrict of Kašunik' lying east of Lesser Baĥk' and sometimes referred to as the "Other" Baĥk'. (T'. X. Hakobyan, *ibid.* map; Toumanoff, Manuel, 241).

<sup>24</sup>SO. LIX.

<sup>25</sup>SO. LXI.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup>Toumanoff, Manuel, 71-72.

<sup>29</sup>SO, *Ibid.*; Toumanoff, *ibid.*, 72.

<sup>30</sup>Toumanoff, *ibid.*, 239.

<sup>31</sup>Descendants of Melik houses sprung from the House of Siwnik' are found in all of these cites, all of them aware of their noble descent but none in my experience aware of their descent from the House of Siwnik.

<sup>32</sup>P'awstos (5.12) cites Arc'ax, the Orkhistene of Strabo (11.4.4), but mentions no princes of the region. Eremyan, however, considers it to have been part of the territory of the Princes of Sōdk', Ptolemy's Sodoukene, but cf. Toumanoff, Studies, 182, n. 146.

<sup>33</sup>Toumanoff, Studies, 216-17.

<sup>34</sup>Movsēs Kaŭankatuac'i (or Dasxuranc'i), Patmut'iwn Aŭanian' asxarhi (ed. M. Emin; Tiflis, 1912); Engl. transl. C. J. F. Dowsett, The History of The Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i (London, 1961), 3.19, 22.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, 3.22. We do not know how much of northern Arc'ax the Siwnids controlled. There is evidence that an Aŭanšahikid branch held Xač'ēn until at least 1000 A.D. (see Barxudaryan supra n. 1).

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup>Hewsen, "Meliks II," 302-03.

<sup>38</sup>MD, 3.22.

<sup>39</sup>Toumanoff, Manuel, 237.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup>At least a part of the southern half of Arc'ax, known as Dizak, was under Afanšahikid rule until the mid-thirteenth century (cf. Toumanoff, Manuel, 71-72).

<sup>43</sup>Cf. the stemma of the Siwnids by Metropolitan Balthasar Hasan-Jalalean published by Raffi in his critique of the Galt'nik' Larabali (infra, n. 46), published as Galt'nik' Łarabałi K'nnadatec' Raffi (Vienna, 1906).

<sup>44</sup>Hewsen, "Meliks II," 317-18.

<sup>45</sup>Toumanoff, *ibid.*, 238-39.

<sup>46</sup>A. Beknazareanc' (pseud.?), Galt'nik Łarabałi (St. Petersburg, 1886), 180 ff.

<sup>47</sup>Toumanoff, *ibid.*, 239.

<sup>48</sup>MD 3.22. Xoxanaberd (in Persian), having given its Armenian name, Xac'en, to the earlier land of Arc'ax, must have served as its center for a considerable time.

<sup>49</sup>M-F. Brosset, Histoire de la Siounie par Stephannos Orbelian, Introduction (St. Petersburg, 1866), 164.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, 165. For the locations of Xoxanaberd, Akana and Haterk' cf. Haykakan SSR Atlas (Erevan, 1961), 106.

<sup>52</sup>Haykakan SSR Atlas, 195-97.

<sup>53</sup>Hewsen, "Meliks II," 321-23; *idem.* "Meliks II," 293-96.

<sup>54</sup>K. Salia, Histoire de la Georgie (Paris, 1980), 222-25.

<sup>55</sup>Toumanoff, Manuel, 238-40.

<sup>56</sup>So heavy were the exactions laid upon Hasan-Jalal by the Mongols that he was unable to satisfy them, and, as a result, he was arrested, tortured, and cruelly executed at Qazvin in Iran in 1261 (Kirakos Ganjakec'i, Patmut'iwn Hayoc', LXIV Fr. transl.). M. F. Brosset, Deux historiens armeniens, St. Petersburg, 1870).

<sup>57</sup>C. J. F. Dowsett, "The Albanian Chronicle of Mxit'ar Goš," BSOAS XXI Pt. 3 (London, 1958), 483.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup>A. Sanjian, Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts (Los Angeles, 1969), 139.

<sup>60</sup>Y. Manandyan, O trgovle i gorodax Armenii v svjazi s mirovoj trgovlej drevnix vremen (Erevan, 1945), Engl. transl. N. Garsoian, Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade (Lisbon, 1965), 161.

For a more detailed account of the economy of Arc'ax in this period the reader is referred to Ulubabyan's study (*supra* at \*). Horsebreeding must have played a major or if not a preponderant role in the local economy but its very ubiquity led to its being virtually ignored by our sources. In his "Caucasica IV," BSOAS, XV/3 (London, 1953), p. 526, Minorsky translates a passage from Ibn-Hauqal's Kitab al-masalik wal-Mamalik (10th century) in which horses, apparently in large numbers, are cited as being a great part of the annual tribute paid by Arc'ax/Xač'ēn to the Arabs. In his commentary on this passage, Minorsky quotes Brosset (Histoire de la Géorgie, I, 441) to the effect that in the thirteenth century David Soslan, consort to Queen T'amar of Georgia, gave the fortress of Jarmanam and an entire village to obtain a particularly fine horse from the Vakhtang of Xač'ēn.

<sup>61</sup>The original jurisdiction of the Catholicos of Albania was, from at least the fifth century, expressed in his intitulatio "Catholicos of Albania, Lp'ink' and Č'olay," (MD 2.15; 3.23) and included all of southeastern Caucasia from the Araxes River to the Caspian Sea at the Fortress of Č'olay lying c. 40 km. south of Darband. In an inscription in the Monastery of K't'iš dated 1248 and recorded by Brosset (Introduction, 165), the jurisdiction of St. Grigoris, i.e. of the Catholicos of Albania, is described as:

"having for limits the rivers of Hałun and the Erasx, as far as the banks of Gatuhāt; Vakunis, on the River Vałazn; Karatnik (in some mss. Karutnik), with that (i.e. the river) of Xozan; Arist and its river; Hakari and the river of Hazar; Krtaget, its river and its limits; Dizak; Belukan with its river."

Although not all of these places are now identifiable, it is clear that we are dealing with a much more restricted area lying entirely in Karabagh and corresponding to the lands of the Vaxt'ankean and Dop'ean families.

<sup>62</sup>Hewsen, "Meliks II," Chart I.

<sup>63</sup>Brosset, Histoire de la Siounie, 144.

<sup>64</sup>M. Hasrat'yan, M. Thierry, "Le Couvent de Ganjasar," REA XV

(Paris, 1981), 195.

<sup>65</sup>J. M. Thierry, M. Hasrat'yan, "Dadivank' en Arc'ax," REA XVI (Paris, 1982), 259-287.

<sup>66</sup>Toumanoff, Manuel, 238-39.

<sup>67</sup>M. Abelyan, Hayoc' hin grakanut'yan patmut'yun, I (Beirut, 1959).

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, II:43-61.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, 62-63.

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*, 142-57.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.*, 188.

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, 205.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, 215-27.

<sup>76</sup>In the reconstruction of Dadi-vank' and in the codification of the laws by Mxit'ar Goš, the first undertaken by Hasan the Great (1142-1182), and the latter by order of his son Vaxt'ang II Tonk'ik (1182-p. 1214), as well as in the construction of the monastery of Ganjasar by the latter's grandson, Hasan-Jalal-Dola (c. 1214-1265/6), we see the age-old concept of renovatio at work whereby the restoration of the kingdom is accompanied by the erection of sacred edifices and the promulgation of codes of law. The reign of Justinian is a classic example of this as are those of Augustus before him and of Charlemagne later on.

<sup>77</sup>Cf. Brosset, Introduction; L. Ališan, Sisakan (Venice, 1893); M. Barxudareanc', Arc'ax (Baku, 1895); and S. Barxudaryan's DHV V Arc'ax.

<sup>78</sup>Cf. Brosset, Histoire de la Siounie, but especially L. S. Xač'ikyan's XIV Dari Hayaren Jeřagreri Hišatakaranner (Erevan, 1950); Xač'ikyan, XV Dari Hayaren Jeřagreri Hišatakaranner (Erevan, 1958) and Sanjian's Colophons (based on the last two compilations).

<sup>79</sup>Cf. Beknazarean's Gařtnik' Ĺarabati, pp. 180-208, and Balt'asar Metropolitan Hasan-Jalalean's genealogical table in Raffi's Critique, pp. 687-700, supra n. 43.

<sup>80</sup>G. Ezov, Snošenija Petra Velikogo S Armjanami Dokumenty (St.



Petersburg, 1898), doc. No. 11, pp. 51-52.

<sup>81</sup>Hasrat'yan-Thierry, "Ganjasar," 294.

<sup>82</sup>Toumanoff, Manuel, 231, 236-40. Cf. also Ulubabyan, Xac'eni Isxanut'yune which includes a discussion of the titles in use by the rulers of Xac'en.

<sup>83</sup>The exact connection of the Avaneans of Dizak with the Vaxt'-ankeank' line is uncertain but its Siwnid descent appears uncontested (Hewsen, "Meliks I," 321-23; "Meliks II," 293-96).

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Raffi, Xamsayi melik'ut'iwnnerē (Vienna, 1906), 105.

<sup>87</sup>Šahinšah, as sparapet, is cited in a colophon in Brosset, Introduction, p. 164.

<sup>88</sup>Brosset, Introduction, 155-56.

<sup>89</sup>Bekhnazareanc', 189-91.

<sup>90</sup>Afak'el vdpt., Dizaki Melik'ut'iwnē (Vařarsapat, 1913), Niwt'er hay melik'ut'ean masin, 1.10-20; Raffi, Xamsayi Melik'ut'iwnnerē, 18-19.

<sup>91</sup>Toumanoff, Manuel.

<sup>92</sup>Hewsen, "Meliks II," 323-24.

<sup>93</sup>Hewsen, "Three Armenian Noble Families of the Russian Empire," Hask (Antilias, 1982).

<sup>94</sup>Hewsen, "The Meliks of Eastern Armenia IV: The Siwnid Origin of Xač'atur Abovyan," REA, XIV (Paris, 1980), 459-70.

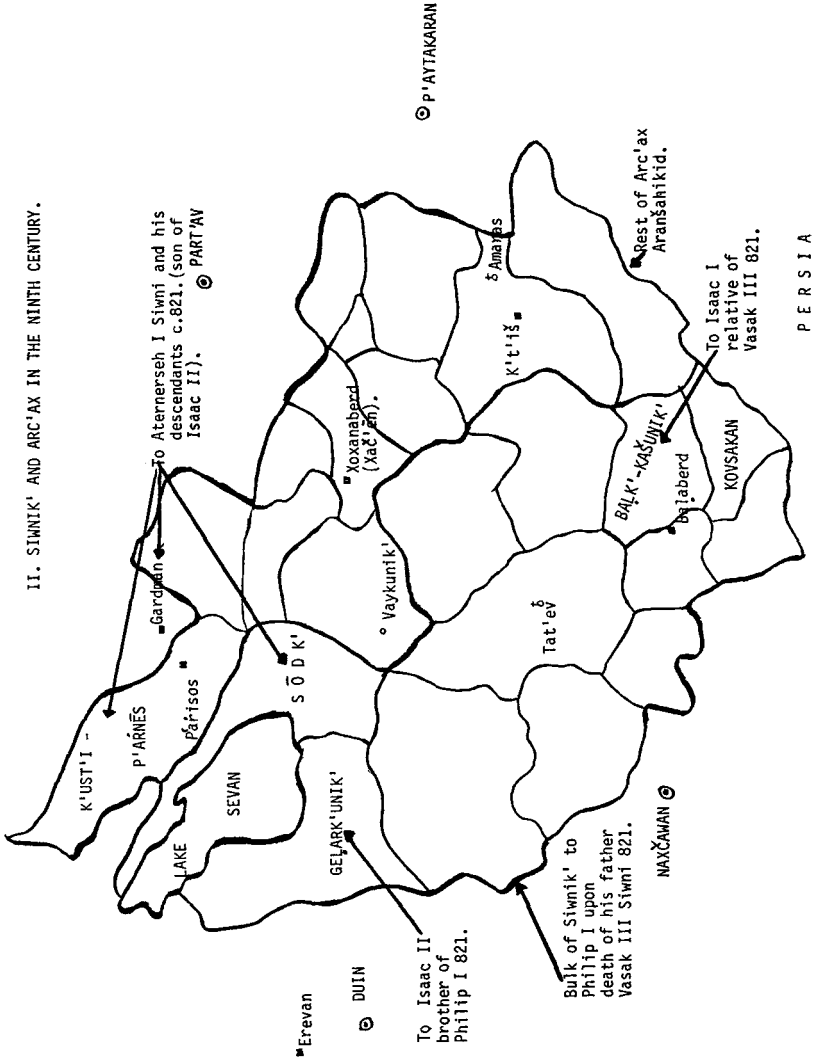
<sup>95</sup>R. G. Hovannisian, The Armenian Republic Vol. I: 1918-1919 (Los Angeles, 1971), 85, 86, 169.

<sup>96</sup>Who's Who in the U.S.S.R., 1965, s.v. Melik-Shakhazarov.

<sup>97</sup>Cf. J. H. Tashjian, "The Problem of Karabagh," The Armenian Review, 21 (1968) 1-81, esp. 3-66; R. G. Hovannisian, "The Armeno-Azerbaijani Conflict over Mountainous Karabagh, 1918-1919," The Armenian Review 24 (1971) 2-94, esp. 3-39.

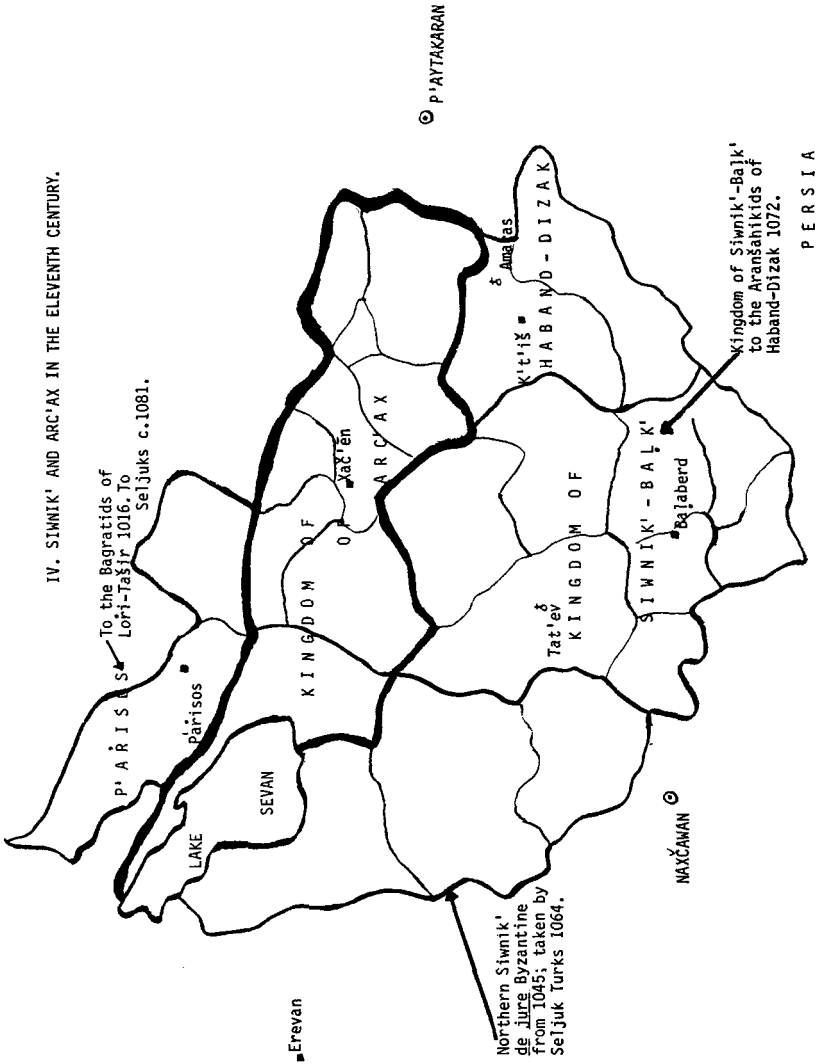


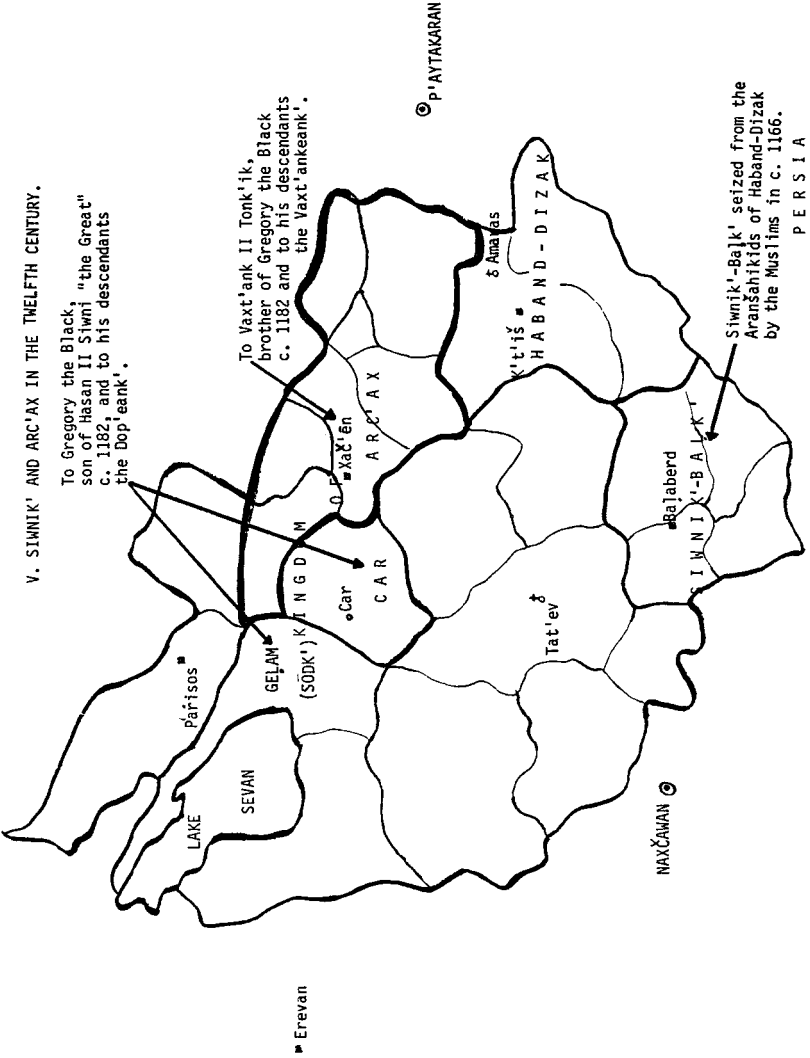
II. SIWNİK' AND ARC'AX IN THE NINTH CENTURY.





IV. SIWNİK' AND ARC'AX IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.





VI. SIWNİK' AND ARC'AX IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

